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ABSTRACT

This document contains selected papers and findings of a conference that was held at South Africa's University of the Western Cape to discuss strategies to organize for democracy in the Western Cape. Presented in section 1 are the opening remarks of Bulelani Ncguka, Jakes Gerwel, Shirley Walters and the following papers: "South Africa from the 1980s into the 1990s: Organising for Democracy" (Murphy Morobe); "Overview of the Western Cape" (Graeme Bloch); "Summary of Report-Backs from Theme Workshops" (Trevor Manuel); "State Strategy" (Andrew Merrifield); "Negotiations" (Tony Karon); "City Politics: Soweto" (Kehla Shubane); "Constitutional Guidelines" (Willie Hofmeyer); and "Labour and Economic Alternatives" (Howard Gabriels). Section 2 contains summaries of the 19 conference theme workshops, which dealt with such topics as the following: Western Cape economy; health concerns; uprooting poverty in the Western Cape; challenges in the educational sphere; welfare in transition; the cultural movement and recent demographic changes in the Western Cape; relationship between the political economy and ecology; squatter and housing struggles; AIDS; worker-controlled cooperatives; adult education; literacy for democracy; mission of the church; and computers for transformation. Outlined in section 3 is a method for getting people actively involved in the political process. Appended are the African National Congress' constitutional guidelines. (MN)

ED 396 127

Facing the challenges of the 1990s

Organising for democracy in the Western Cape

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CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

CACE — 2 — CDS

University of The Western Cape November 1989

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Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE)

CACE is involved in building and strengthening adult education for a non-racist, non-sexist, democratic society. It

- trains adult educators
- provides resources for adult and community educators
- supports research
- holds workshops
- publishes materials and books.

CACE is based at the University of the Western Cape.

Centre for Development Studies (CDS)

The CDS is a national body doing and promoting research on future policy options for South Africa.

Established with close links to the Mass Democratic Movement, it encourages a research process that is accountable to community organisations. The research is divided into study commissions on

- health
- land and ecology
- education
- planning in local government
- women
- legal and constitutional issues
- the economy
- culture.

The CDS is based at the University of the Western Cape, with offices in other regions.

The University of the Western Cape

UWC is absolutely committed to the post-apartheid ideal in its teaching, research and service activities. It receives the least financial assistance of any South African university from the state, yet has the highest growth rate and a student population on a par with other universities.

ISBN 1-86808-043-9

Copies can be ordered from CACE, University of the Western Cape, Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, South Africa.

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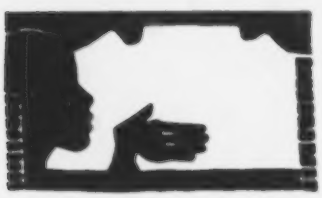
A conference called **Facing the Challenges of the 1990s: Organising for Democracy in the Western Cape** was hosted jointly by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) and the Centre for Development Studies (CDS). It was held at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) from 17 - 19 November 1989.

This publication documents the conference.



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▲ *Murphy Morobe and Omar Badsha reflect on the proceedings*

▼ *Trevor Manuel (left) and Jakes Gerwel (right) talk to conference participants*

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INTRODUCTION

The conference was seen as a way of creating a space for organisations in opposition to the government to consider their options for the 1990s. This was to be done by collectively evaluating their work in the context of the Western Cape, South Africa during the 1980s, and projecting potential scenarios into the future.

THE CONTEXT

In the repressive context of the 80s some gains had been made in the latter part of the decade by organisations working for a liberated South Africa. However, in November 1989 the atmosphere was still oppressive. The apartheid laws enforcing mass discrimination and exploitation, and the State of Emergency, were still in place. The leaders of the majority of the country's population were still being killed or detained, or they remained behind bars. And the majority of people still could not vote or live where they chose. But against this, some gains had been made in the latter part of the 80s.

The months preceeding the CACE/CDS conference had seen a massive defiance campaign in which all the discriminatory laws in South Africa came under severe attack. Mass organisations broke through the psychological barriers of fear imposed by the State of Emergency and began disregarding some of the harsh restrictions laid down since June 1986.

The emergence of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) as a major national alliance and the concrete actions of the Mass Defiance Campaign proved the futility of the emergency regulations. The hunger strike by political prisoners, the breaking of their banning orders by restricted activists, the beach and hospital defiance campaigns all helped to break the back of the emergency. So too did the unbanning of organisations, like the UDF, by the organisations themselves.

Louder, increasing demands for the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other organisations and for the release of their leaders brought further pressure on the state. At the same time international pressure, sanctions and an increasingly shaky economy were further forcing the hand of the apartheid government.

Added to all these ingredients, was a change of president in September 1989, from P W Botha to the less rigid, less authoritarian F W De Klerk.

BACKGROUND

Within this arena the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) and the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) jointly hosted a conference.

Why was the conference held?

It was hoped that we could pool information, understandings and resources and hold a collective evaluation of the decade we had come through. We hoped also to lay the ground for taking hold of the challenges of the next one.

In 1989 many people in organisations expressed their need to gain a deeper understanding of the Western Cape as a rapidly changing socio-economic and political context.

The following questions formed part of the initial idea for a conference:

- How is our changing context affecting our work?
- What are our options?
- How do we take up the challenges facing our organisations?

Who was involved?

CACE started organising a forum to address the initial questions by consulting a wide range of organisations. They included civic, cultural, health, worker, welfare, adult education, religious and women's organisations. The CDS agreed to co-host the event.

A working group was set up with about 20 representatives from 15 organisations to plan a conference around dominant themes, such as political and economic developments.

Three pre-conference newsletters were sent out to organisations spreading information on the themes and inviting participation.

THE EVENT

About 250 representatives from 90 organisations in the Western Cape participated in the three day conference. It was held at the University of the Western Cape on 17, 18 and 19 November 1989.

The aims

The stated aims were to share information and resources, reflect on the trends of the 80s and look at challenges for organisations projecting a post-apartheid society into the 1990s.

It also aimed to challenge the conference norm of simply having "experts" reading papers to a largely passive audience. Another aim was to open up new questions for research.

The conference as a participatory event

It was organised in a way that enabled participants to get actively involved in much of the process. This was done by attempting to work, in part, with the principles and methods of popular education. Popular education works on the premise that learning which is active, participatory, collective and creative, can contribute to fundamental political and social change.

As a site for collective evaluation and learning by opinion-makers within a wide range of organisations, it was the first of its kind held in the Western Cape.

Active participation as a method

The organisers decided to try to run the conference as a participator's event. Drawing on people's own experiences is crucial to this. By then looking at the common elements that emerge in analysing their contexts, people are better able to identify options for specific and concrete action. As a participatory event, some resistance and some problems were encountered, but many more people's voices were heard than is usual at a conference. See the section on method for a more detailed reflection.

OUTLINE OF THE PROGRAMME

Friday 17 November 1989.

The conference was introduced by Bulelani Ngcuka of the CDS, Jakes Gerwel, Rector of UWC, and Shirley Walters of CACE who used a popular education method of "Naming the Moment" with the audience. See her speech welcoming people to the conference.

A short dramatic sketch called "Turning the Tables" was performed by the drama group from the Community Arts Project (CAP).

The keynote address by Murphy Morobe set the context of organising for democracy in South Africa from the 1980s to the 90s.

A telephone link-up to Pallo Jordan of the African National Congress in Lusaka was made. The line was unfortunately very bad.

Questions and contributions followed from the floor.

A performance of worker poetry from the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) ended the evening.

Saturday 18 November

The day opened with a short performance called "Tricameral Blues" by CAP students.

An overview of the Western Cape by Graeme Bloch outlined the characteristics of the region for organisational work.

A morning and an afternoon session of parallel workshops were held. These covered political and economic developments, education, demographic changes, squatter and housing struggles, literacy and ecology. Others were worker controlled co-operatives, cultural challenges, the church, sport and computers.

About 80 people from 40 organisations took part in planning and presenting the workshops.

Each workshop reported back to a larger group on five issues they had identified as important for the 1980s and what they envisaged as the five priorities for their organisations for the 1990s.

Sunday 19 November

A summary and analysis of the main issues and trends which emerged from these rich discussions was given by Trevor Manuel.

A panel discussion on Preparing to Govern followed. Panel topics were state strategy, negotiations, city politics, constitutional guidelines and labour and economic alternatives.

Randy Erntzen, Co-ordinator of the CDS Western Cape, gave a short summary and Zelda Groener of CACE thanked participants.

CONFERENCE PUBLICATION

This conference publication is divided into three sections for clarity.

CONTENT: This gives the prepared speeches presented at the conference. It includes the speech by Trevor Manuel analysing the findings of the 19 workshops.

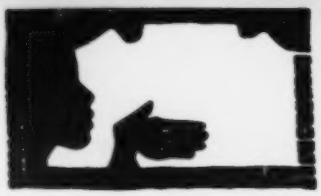
PROCESS: This only partly captures the discussions in the 19 individual workshops. It includes the findings of each workshop, the names of contactable resource people, the participants, the methods used in the workshop and some of the discussion. One of the planned workshops, to be given on worker organisations in the Western Cape by COSATU, unfortunately did not take place due to a breakdown in communication between the organisers and COSATU.

METHOD: This talks about the intention of the conference as a participatory event, why and how it happened. It also touches on resistance encountered to active participation and draws out some lessons.

Murphy Morobe and Bulelani Ncguka flank the conference banner

CAP presents their performance of "Turning the Tables" before the keynote address

Shirley Walters "Naming the Moment" with conference participants



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1.1

CONFERENCE SPEECHES

Opening and welcome

Bulelani Ncguka – Chairperson of the Centre for Development Studies

Jakes Gerwel – Rector of the University of the Western Cape

Shirley Walters – Director of the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education

Keynote address:
South Africa from the 1980's into the 1990's: Organising for democracy

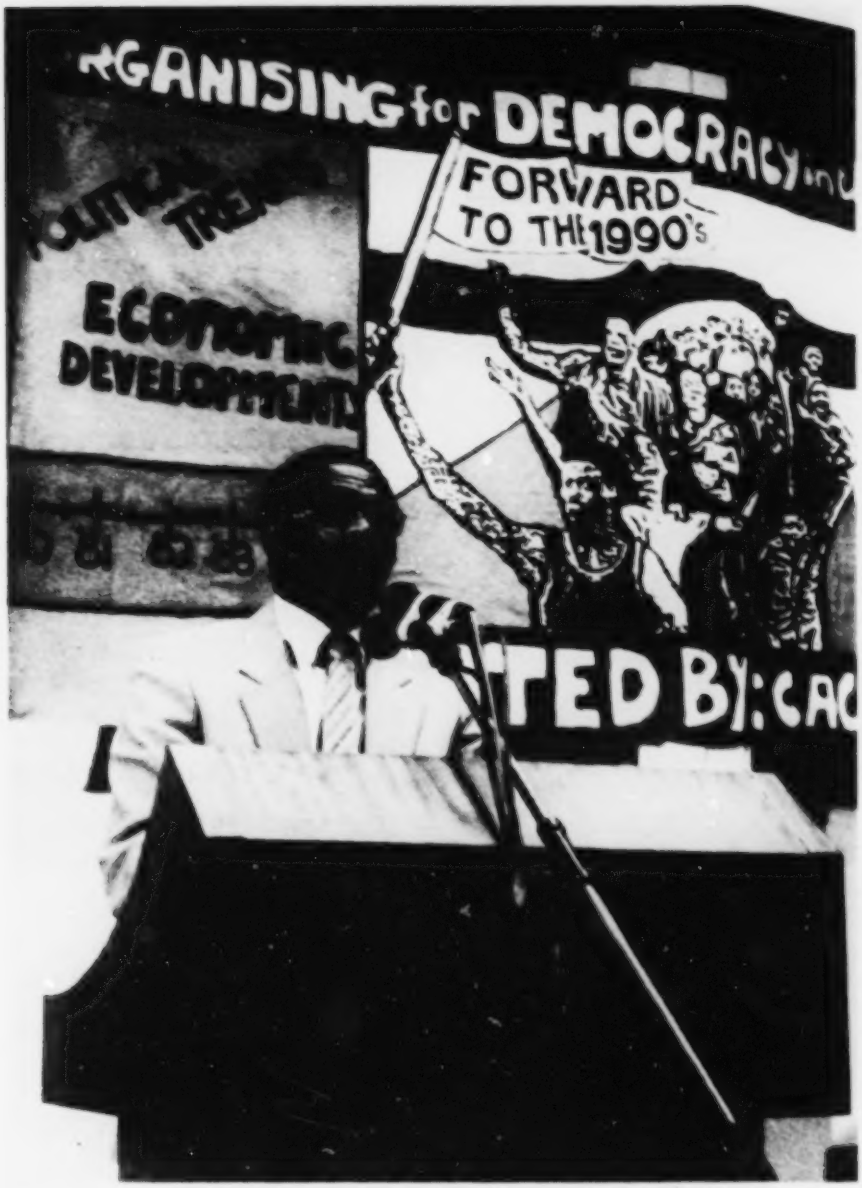
Murphy Morobe – Publicity Secretary of the United Democratic Front

Overview of the Western Cape

Graeme Bloch – Executive member of the National Education Crisis Committee

Summary of report-backs from workshops

Trevor Manuel – a prominent Cape activist



Bulelani Ncguka welcomes everyone to the conference

OPENING AND WELCOME

MR BULELANI NCGUKA

I welcome you to this conference whose theme is Facing the challenges of the 90s: Organising for democracy in the Western Cape.

It is for me an honour to chair this historic conference. Historic in terms of the time in which it is taking place. Historic because it is the first conference that has been organised jointly with the Centre for Development Studies. Over the next few years hopefully you are going to hear more about CDS, as we prepare ourselves for the future, as we march forward towards the day of liberation.

We are meeting at a time when the ideology of racism has become accepted all over the world as a crime against humanity. We have a duty, those of us who are engaged in the struggle. We have a duty that as we march forward we must continue to re-assess and re-evaluate our strategies and techniques as in much the same way the regime itself does.

This conference is not here to formulate policies for organisations but we are here to explore, to investigate and expose what the Western Cape will be like and what we need to do. I have been asked to chair this.

I'm going to ask Professor Jakes Gerwel to come forward and welcome you on behalf of the University. And thereafter, I'm going to ask the Director of CACE, Shirley, to explain to you briefly what the conference is all about.

After that we are going to have the keynote address from the publicity secretary of the UDF, Murphy Morobe. And of course some of us are waiting eagerly for the link-up with Lusaka, when the Director of Information and Publicity, Pallo Jordan will be talking directly to us. Thereafter we shall allow a few people from the audience to pose questions to him.

We will be making announcements as we go along. Having said that it is time to call for Prof Jakes to come forward.

PROFESSOR JAKES GERWEL

Ladies and gentlemen, comrades.
It is my very pleasurable task just briefly to welcome you to the University of the Western Cape on behalf of the University.

It is with great pride that I can welcome you both on behalf of CACE, as a constituent part of the UWC, and on behalf of the CDS with whom I am associated as a trustee.

The fact that we are having this kind of conference, the fact that we are spending our thinking and intellectual energy in this way is an indication of the advances that have been made in our struggle for liberation.

For, what this conference is doing, is to look at the future to start to plan for democracy. It is a sure pointer to the fact that we are preparing ourselves for liberation that we are using our intellectual energies to do the planning for a liberated South Africa.

The Centre for Development Studies, as Bulelani has indicated, has come out of the realisation that we need to do that.

And we at the University of the Western Cape hope that this institution provides a platform, a place from which we can do that kind of planning. Therefore on behalf of the University of the Western Cape, welcome, and we wish you well in the discussions and deliberations at this conference.

Thank you very much.

PROFESSOR SHIRLEY WALTERS

I would like to welcome you here on behalf of CACE. It is a pleasure to be co-hosting this conference with the CDS.

What I have been asked to do is to just briefly discuss what this conference is about, and to say a little on how it came about. I think at an event like this there are always questions about how the idea developed, who was involved and so on.

Most of us in our organisations attempt either regularly or irregularly to analyse the social and political context. We are constantly trying to ensure that our work links into context.

We are continually trying to "name the moment." We are wanting to do a political analysis in order to act, in order that our actions are most effective. At any one time there are various forces of play which affect what is possible or what is not possible. We are

always concerned to make the best use of the particular moment so that we can contribute to social transformation, so that we can be working towards a more just and non-exploitative order.

So this conference is about attempting to "name moments". And in order to "name the moment" or to analyse our context we need to develop a deep sense of the different social, economic and political forces over a period of time. We need to understand the lessons from past actions.

And with this background we will be more able to project into the future possibilities and scenarios. So it is really important that we review the last 10 years in order to project forward into the 1990s.

We're wanting to attempt to gauge the balance of forces. We're wanting to ask the question: What do we need to do collectively to tip the balance in favour of the oppressed and exploited masses?

We need to review the shifts in social forces in the past, anticipate future shifts, and assess whatever free space there might be in the present moment. So this conference is part of a process reflecting on the past and the present.

The conference is not about planning specific political action but it aims to lay the groundwork so that more effective planning can occur within our organisations for the 1990s. I think the organisers felt it was important to state that, that we are attempting to do that background work because political action can only really be decided within the organisations. The other question is how the conference came about. I think just very briefly I need to point you to the green flyer in your folders. This gives background to the genesis of the conference.

I think certainly from a CACE point of view we've been aware over several years that we feel quite isolated in our six-monthly reviews of our organisation, in attempting to assess the context. And it is always an incredibly difficult and complex thing to do. And we've also been aware of many other organisations doing exactly the same. And we've always hoped that at some stage we might be able to do it more collectively.

I think we were very pleased when there was such positive response to the general idea. The CDS was consulted early on and then other organisations in the process of deciding about the conference.

Once the decision was taken that the conference was a good idea, an organising committee was set up and the planning group which consisted of about 20 people from 15 different organisations. So it really has been quite an collective experience and is a collective event.

From an early stage it was also decided that it was important that this conference be as participatory as possible. People were not aspiring to a formal academic conference in the traditional sense. People felt that it should be popular and participatory.

And I think that in many ways there have been attempts already to try to do that. Both in terms of the composition of the organising committee, and how the theme working groups have been set up because the program has been organised by a lot of different people. Then the newsletters that have been sent out to you, updating you about the conference.

During the weekend there will be a couple of things where your participation will be encouraged. There is an exhibition where many organisations have displayed their work and are sharing information about themselves. There is also a history wall at the far end of the hall and you're invited to put up pamphlets, posters, any relics from the past that you don't want anymore and in that way share the history of the 80s with one another.

I think you've also been asked from tomorrow onwards to wear your old T-shirts. So any T-shirts that are yellow, that are looking a bit tatty, you are invited to wear them.

During the workshops themselves I think organisers are attempting to create space for as much participation as possible. And then in the plenary sessions, organisers would want that people who normally find it easy to talk should limit their participation perhaps to two contributions per session to allow space for other people to participate.

Participation after the conference, in the ongoing collective analysis, is also a question for the conference. From the CDS's side I think there are people who are very keen and ideas are coming out concerning future research possibilities. From CACE's side we are also interested in the question of future research possibilities.

In your folders you'll see a plea from our Community Organisation Research Project to contribute your old pamphlets and posters to it. And there's a short questionnaire which you are asked to fill in.

And finally before handing back, I would like to ask you to participate in "Naming the Moment".

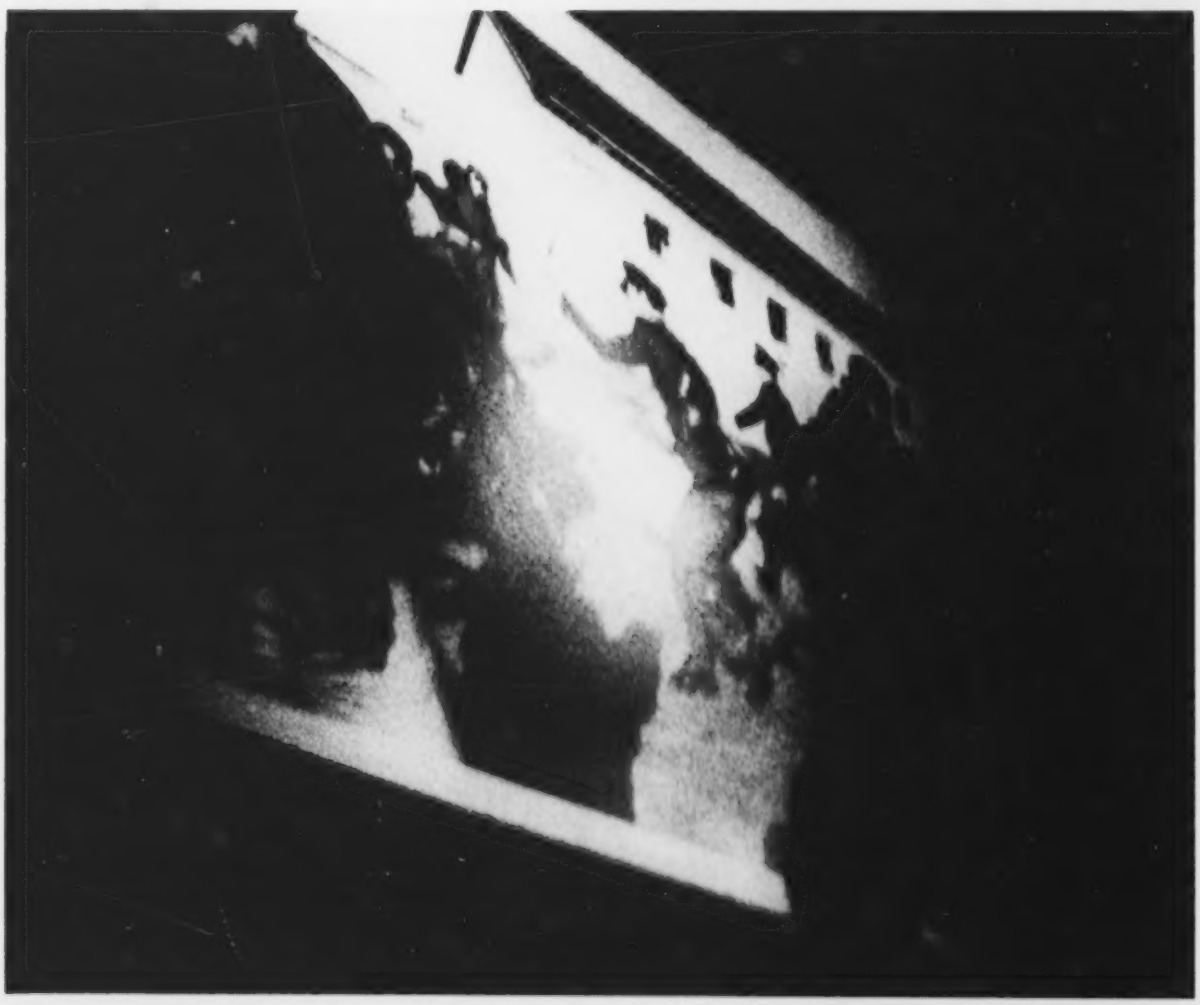
I would like to show 3 slides from events in the 1980s and I would like to ask you to try and answer the three questions as you look at each slide. Where were you at the time of this event? Did you participate in this event? And do you have one memorable impression of this event or which this period has left with you? And what I would like you to do is to just talk to the person next to you and try to answer that question. Just very quickly.

Slides were shown of the launch of the UDF in the Western Cape in August 1983, of the Pollsmoor March in 1985 and of the launch of COSATU in the Western Cape in February 1986.

We are beginning to participate in the collective memory. I hope that we will have the chance to do a lot of this during the course of the weekend.

Before we move on to the key-note address CAP is going to do a small sketch. It just remains for me to say that I really hope that this weekend proves to be a rich collective learning experience and I hope that we go into the 1990s together.

Thank you.



Murphy Morobe talks about moving house

Members of the Congress of South African Writers give a performance of poetry to music after the keynote address

MURPHY MOROBE

South Africa from the 1980s into the 1990s: Organising for democracy

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much Comrade Chairperson. I also would like to thank Comrade Jakes for having welcomed us here to this university. When I'm asked to speak it is usually as "the speaker" and when it rained today, I wasn't surprised, because I've been asked to be a "keynote speaker".

The topic itself, the change from one decade to another in the context of our quest to organise for a democratic South Africa is very broad. Trying to bring it down to specifics is not an easy task because one does run the risk of leaving out much.

Nevertheless I will attempt it because there is nothing to lose in trying. And I think there's everything to lose in not trying at all.

And as we look at this decade galloping away to a close it is perhaps appropriate that I remind all of us that when it began, Comrade President Oliver Tambo had declared the 1980s as the decade for liberation. Now perhaps he was not so much talking about liberation in South Africa as about a decade. One we would look back upon as one where most oppressed societies, particularly in Africa, who are still fighting against colonial domination, would have gone a long way towards unshackling themselves from oppression. Needless to say, even we in the South African context are much closer to that goal than ever before.

Trying to recall the events of the 1980s is a daunting task, if you consider the speed of development. And this is not to mention the acceleration put into world events by the leadership of the Soviet Union of Mikhail Gorbachev which led us into the glastnost/perestroika age. This had very profound and significant implications in world politics, as well as in the regional, political situations in South Africa. Many breathtaking events have taken place in the 80s. From the war in Iran, the earthquakes, to the struggles in a number of countries in Latin America, the retreat of dictatorships. In our country itself you've seen the increased activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe – the armed struggle reaching unprecedented heights. As well as the intensification of the mass actions which arose around the period of 1984/85 and up to the State of Emergency being declared. And from there at some point we began talking of "from ungovernability to People's Power" which was a necessary process, where we were able to mobilize and galvanise a broad range of forces and put new impetus into our struggle. Now we are faced with, maybe one could call it a change of season, but it is really a change of year from 1989 to 1990.

And if we look at it in a sociological and political context I think the change will be of such a profound nature that we can assess quite concretely what implications the next decade has for us, especially if we have come to understand what the past decade has meant for us. How it has impacted upon our lives. How it has transformed us and changed a society and located it within a totally new face.

MOVING HOUSE

I usually like to make this analogy of moving house. I think many of us here have got experience of moving house. I don't have much, but if you consider what it takes to do, the first question that comes to mind is, what do you have to leave behind? And what will you want to give away to your next door neighbour or to your friend? And some things you may even want to burn and some things you may want to keep for yourself.

And I think when you look at this decade moving from the 80s to the 90s, those are some of the questions we are beginning to grapple with, especially in South Africa which is in the throes of quite profound changes. There are crucial questions

facing us as activists, as revolutionaries, as people who are involved in agitating for change.

The major question relates to understanding exactly what we need to leave behind and what we need to take forward to that new society we're developing. And the 90s pose that crucial challenge.

STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Coming to South Africa, I think it is incontrovertible that the uniqueness of our struggle lies not so much in what the struggle is about because struggles against oppression and exploitation are universal. But what is important is how this particular struggle of ours is being waged, the strategies and tactics being employed in prosecuting the struggle. Those are some of the critical issues we need to look at, if we are to understand where we are heading.

Even as we fight against the legacy of centuries of oppression and exploitation, the continuing iniquities of the present order, we are already wading deep into the future with all these uncertainties.

Let us not move uncritically into the 1990s. Our political morality must not be based purely on what we may find expedient at that or the other moment. It must be based on what is historically just and necessary and has the greatest prospects of advancing our noble cause of building non-racialism and democracy in our country.

Comrades, we have been called upon to master change. And anybody who buries his or her head in the sand knows, I think, that they will be doing it at his or her own peril. We have been called upon to learn from the school of the past, to mould the present just like an artist does in his urge to view the end product of his or her own crafty hands. But again like an artist we are presented with the often taxing and complex task of making sure that the paint we choose is of the right mixture, the brushes we use are the right texture. And of course the vision that goes with the act of painting should at least correspond to the final picture as envisaged.

DEMOCRACY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

So it is, I believe, with democracy and what we've come to know as democratic practice with accountability as the necessary bedfellow. For us to move into and to make an irreversible impact on the 1990s, we must take this wonderful idea of democracy and accountability and transform it into a fighting tool at the disposal of ordinary people. That is the challenge that many of us at universities are faced with; to be able to move beyond the speeches, the difficult concepts we formulate in our campuses and transform them into useful tools that ordinary people, my ordinary neighbour, can make use of to fight against oppression and bring about change in our country.

Our commitment to this democracy and our bona fides can only be proven by how much in our day to day struggles we strive to incorporate all the essential elements of this ideal. It is indeed some time back since the United Democratic Front was formed. It is also some time since the democratic and accountable trade unionism took root. In that whole period we've learnt a great deal.

Our historical task therefore is to take this weapon and sharpen it for even greater battles to come as we enter the 1990s. It is not always that the transition from one decade to the next is accompanied by such profound social dynamism as we are experiencing all over the world today. We have absolutely no other options but to, as creatively as possible, grapple with all the unavoidable complexities that any change process inevitably throws up. Democracy and accountability have in some way become the stock phrase of the democratic movement.

NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE

As we enter the 1990s, negotiation and compromise would also have entered the arena. Without claiming any expertise on these subjects I would like to share with you all some of my thoughts on these crucial issues.

I think we all concur that the practice of democracy within our structures, accountability as an active component of democratic practice, is something that as we move house into the 1990s we can never afford to leave behind. It is something we have to take with us and perhaps structure in such a way that in the new period, it would be able to give us better shelter and greater comfort; in knowing that we have democracy, that we have taken it with us from the past and we've shaped it in such a way

that we have been able to inform that future, that better South Africa we are looking for.

And therefore, looking at democracy, I think it goes far beyond the issue of structures. It involves the basic day to day actions of all our people in their interactions with one another and particularly with those in positions of authority. True democracy therefore involves a process of mobilisation of our people in order to constantly involve them in the decisions and actions that go into running a country, or an organisation. Because of this, democracy demands that we go beyond the formalities of creating the opportunity for people to participate, say, in the voting exercise.

Democracy does not mean that some people need to be left to run the lives of other people on their behalf. I believe the creation of a democratic society demands the ongoing struggle to overcome a culture of passivity. A passivity that is born of oppression.

Democracy thus becomes a process that has to be built in the course of the struggle.

If we wait until the day of liberation and then try to create a democracy by changing a few structures and laws I think we are doomed to failure.

This approach, I believe, has implications for everything we do, even the process of negotiating and drawing up a new constitution, as we are going to be faced with, particularly in the coming decade. This is not a matter, I believe, for top leadership or for so-called constitutional experts. Both of these would be involved in any event in the drafting of a constitution. This is a matter for all the people of our country. It is for that reason that we cannot even begin to consider the results of, for example, the Indaba Natal so-called negotiations. The process in itself was fundamentally misconceived and doomed to failure from the start.

Being committed to a dynamic and participatory form of democracy, the challenge for us in the 1990s is to create even more structures and institutions to best facilitate this ongoing involvement of the people in the determination of their own futures. The five-yearly election of candidates of their choice to represent them in parliament is a very restricted form of democracy and participation, I think.

Through the 90s into a new South Africa we have to continue exploring new ways of mobilising and involving the people on a yearly, a monthly, if not on a daily basis in the national political decision-making of our society. That, I think, is the challenge for any future government if one talks of a truly democratic dispensation, that would cater for the needs of the people at every level. For this reason the election of candidates from competing parties to a national legislature is an important but still inadequate form of participation.

I believe that we would work towards creating supplementary structures to enable the mass organisations that mobilize many thousands of our people in the struggle to overcome their day to day problems, and for these organisations to have an impact on the national political lives of our society. The youth and the students, the women, the unions, the civics and the many other organisations that represent the particular interests of sections of our people, must be involved in some real way. And I think that if one talks of democracy and one talks of participation in a democratic way, this can only be the best approach.

When one comes to the question of representatives – it may sound like an ideal situation, but what I'm putting across are ideas – that if we go into this great debate unfolding on the question of negotiations, we are dealing with the constitutional guidelines and the question of the bill of rights. Representatives, I think, must also be answerable to the people who elected them. This should be true for a future government as it should be true for our organisations in existence today.

And while we clearly want to avoid the instability and disruptions of sporadic changes of the personnel carrying out vital political roles within the legislature, we need to balance this against the need for accountability if a real democracy is to be built. For this reason we would be exploring the possibilities of creating a mechanism that allows voters, in the case of a constitutional assembly or whatever, to recall those elected in the case of serious breaches of mandate. We would also need to explore ways of ensuring that representatives refer important decisions back to their electorate

on a regular basis in order to involve them and to regularly renew their mandates.

I would also like to stress that our commitment to a democratic form of government must always extend beyond the creation of democratic structures. It must encompass the very process that decides on what structures are desirable. By mobilising the vast majority of our people to participate in this process of discussing and creating these new structures, we are assured of an end product that will be truly democratic.

A new constitution cannot and should not be created by experts or top leaders, negotiating in secret over the heads of the people. The participation of the broadest possible numbers of our people is a process that incorporates the regular renewing of the mandates of those who sit and haggle over the details. These elements are fundamental to the creation of a new democratic people's republic of South Africa.

From what I've said it is clear that the practice of fighting for democracy is never clear-cut and is not without real or apparent contradiction. And because of the fact that the process itself throws up so many variables which require flexibility of tactics, if one is to contend decisively with the possibilities, many of us can and do become victims of incorrect application of tactics and strategies sometimes.

Quite often we, particularly in our organisations and programs, fall victim to a dogmatism and purism which bears no relation to what we have come to know as the Congress approach. If we are to continue to occupy the centre stage of political struggle in our country our approaches to the burning questions of the day must always be guided by a correct application of the strategy and tactics of our movement.

So, when due to the intensification of our struggle at every level we are faced, say for example at this stage, with the question of negotiations, the challenge for us is not to be hysterical about it. But, we need to take very sober and calculated steps to deal with that new situation. We are no doubt going into the 1990s with this question of negotiations as part of the baggage we have to carry. And short of rejecting it, I believe we can begin to address some of the pertinent issues.

NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

For now I'll deal only with the sub theme of negotiations, that is, the question of compromise. **I think the question of compromise naturally arises in the context of discussing the possibility of a negotiated political settlement.**

The very idea of a negotiated settlement is itself a product of current political conditions in which the government of the day cannot rule in the same old way, and cannot run things exclusively on its own terms. There is a situation of a mounting challenge that is the combined effect of all organisational forces in the mass democratic movement and beyond. What comes to the fore very clearly is the view that a negotiated settlement is by definition incompatible with absolute victory or defeat. I think it involves compromises of different or various kinds.

Now, I think that for many of us, particularly young people, we have come to understand the word compromise, as not a very attractive word, as something to shy away from and rather not deal with. "The struggle continues" and that's the watchword of all us young lions.

But if we look at our struggle, if we try to understand what compromise really is, I think both in the very simple day to day things and when we move to the higher realm of relating compromise to political questions and strategies, then we'll get to appreciate more or less why we need to address this question.

I think people must accept that I'm not pushing anybody into any compromising position but I am posing the issue as something we need to deal with. I think it can only be to the benefit of our movement when we begin to get these issues out and talk about them.

Just to deal with practical examples of compromises we can talk of the Conference for a Democratic Future that we are looking forward to in a couple of weeks time. I think it does fall within the category of compromises we found necessary, considering that the elements we'll have to deal with at that level have not necessarily always been

part of our policies, our strategies, even of our programs; that we may have differed with them from time to time. But I think that the demands of the moment, the historical imperatives, place us in a situation where we have to consider the need for us to relate together through the agency of this conference for a democratic future.

Negotiated settlement is incompatible with absolute victory or defeat. It involves compromises of different kinds. Now just as the negotiations and the settlements should have clear aims so, I believe, must the compromises themselves. And both are products of particular conditions. Whichever way we look at the question it is clear that the choice of when to negotiate and how to go about it cannot be arbitrary. The same goes for deciding what compromises to make and what time to make them.

Before we turn to what may be termed the determinance of negotiations and related compromises, I think we have to be clear about how, within the UDF and amongst the allies of the UDF, we would see our tasks in the present context. From the brief sketch I've given above of a negotiated settlement and what it involves, it should be clear that we do not see our task as simply to make declarations on the impossibility of negotiations and related justifiable compromises.

But we would see our task as having to be clear on the aim of the negotiations or the compromises. We need to read the relationship between this aim and the basic aims and substance of our struggle against apartheid and for freedom. And we need to identify the most effective way of achieving the aims so that we remain true to the fundamental principles guiding our struggle, for example, on the question of non-racialism. And we need to make sure that we remain true to the needs and aspirations of our constituencies. And that we can politically guide and educate our people to overcome the disinformation and passivity imposed by apartheid and arm them for victory. And further, that we can end the passivity of the masses, resulting from oppression and apartheid-style democracy. And we can pave the way for complete victory for the masses in giving them control over their daily lives.

CONCLUSION

To sum up briefly, one can say that our aim is to win political freedom for the oppressed, to create a democratic non-racial unitary South Africa and place political power in the hands of the people of South Africa, the majority of whom are oppressed under the apartheid rule.

The aim of the government on the other hand is ultimately to retain apartheid in one form or other. And to create conditions that will be conducive to this aim, namely upholding the so- called group rights perspective and the so-called great indaba. And trying through political repression to weaken the democratic movement to the point where it must be forced to compromise on fundamental aims, thus preventing it from supporting aims with sufficient mass support on the ground.

The political situation in our country as shown above is one that involves constant struggle between those forces that seek to bring about fundamental change and those that seek to prevent it. The 1990s in themselves are not going to result in the diminishing of this situation. It can only increase for as long as we keep on exerting the pressure.

In this context I think there are key deciding factors in our approaches to these compromises. There are, amongst others, a relative balance of forces and the conditions of struggle as we advance towards realisation of conflicting goals, I mean from the various parties involved in this equation. From this flow different and often conflicting approaches and compromises.

Also I think such compromises are carefully timed according to actual rather than hypothetical conditions where some key aims may be attained at minimal cost and clear gains may be made which would justify the cost. For example, minimizing or eliminating possible unaffordable costs or paving the way to greater gains at another time. Or in other conditions what may be called voluntary compromise, that is, a choice based on an assessment of the conditions. What is achievable may be gained with regard to basic objectives and principles of our movement. The point I'm making here is that there is a fundamental difference between justifiable and unjustifiable compromises.

And we need to have a clear grasp of political conditions to be able to make this distinction. In general there may exist such conditions as would force upon the mass democratic movement the need to make compromises. For example, in the case where this compromise will not undermine the fundamental aims but would pave the way to their attainment in various ways. This includes creating space for strengthening the hand of the democratic movement. Helping to find more common ground and a closer working relationship between the democratic movement and other genuine anti-apartheid forces.

An unacceptable case of forced compromise would be where, for example, the government does everything to undermine the basic aims, principles and approaches that can ensure genuine change by mounting repression, creating unnecessary platforms for so-called leaders with no constituency and even goes to the extent of arming them with coercive power and patronage, such that the democratic movement would have to abandon its aims and guiding principles in order to be part of such a negotiated settlement.

In line with our concept of negotiated and related compromises, the pre-condition set out to define a starting point of the process of a peaceful settlement, to sketch clearly how a climate conducive to this can be created in which there can be free political activity for all parties in the negotiations. Those pre-conditions are not, in my view, random prescriptions. They are a definition of what substantial initial changes would remove the disabilities imposed by apartheid on the oppressed which pose a barrier to their meaningful participation in a political process for dismantling apartheid. In a word, they would facilitate the process of change.

SUMMARY

In summary, therefore, I can say that compromise can only be decided on a basis that comprehends and does not undermine:

1 the basic aims and principles of our movement;

2 the need for us to remain true to the needs and aspirations of our constituencies;

3 or cause us to ignore the relative balance of power we need to take into account at every point where the question of compromise arises;

4 our need to pave the way and to continue to strive for genuine change.

The cost and reward for such compromise cannot be arbitrary. They must be based on actual, rather than hypothetical conditions. And the compromise, I think, cannot pre-date the arising of the conditions in which it is justifiable.

And, Comrades, when one looks at the whole question of compromise – it perhaps may sound quite complex from the way I've rattled through it – but there are simpler ways to deal with the questions, examples that can be abstracted from our day to day struggles and activities. It nevertheless remains one of the crucial questions that we are going to have to deal with and I think it is necessary baggage, that we have to take along and perhaps find a more effective location and use for in the new environment of the 1990s.

And compromise together with the whole question of negotiations does become one of the key challenges that we are faced with. Especially if one considers the fact that in the 1980s we have been in large measure the architects of the present political climate we are finding ourselves with in our country and I think that the historical responsibility we have is not to have these political opportunities go to waste. I think the task is for us to seize the initiative and convert all these possibilities into real gains which will put apartheid on an irrevisible path of extinction, as Comrade Jordan said. We must turn the retreat into a headlong gallop to extinction for apartheid.

Thank you.

GRAEME BLOCH

Overview of the Western Cape

PREPARING TO GOVERN

There is a tendency to think that because one is speaking in a vaguely intellectual environment one must cut out aspects of popular culture. I'm trying to run a one-person campaign to begin all lectures at university by saying amandla.

Amandla! (Ngawethu!)

I would like to dedicate this talk to the Yengeni trialists, who symbolise some of the processes in the Western Cape over the last while, and also in the spread of people, where they come from and how they came together. They symbolise not only our past but also the future.

My job this morning is to provide an overview for the people who will look at various areas in a more specialised way. So I am trying to open up a discussion here that will hopefully encourage some of the debates and contributions in the commissions.

In this session there are people who know a lot more than I do about particular areas I'll mention, and hopefully in discussions we'll be able to feed in corrections. What follows are some tentative ideas and thoughts.

I don't think there can be a definitive account of the Western Cape at this point. From a research point of view the work that has been done is far too fragmentary and inconclusive. My own experience over the last week trying to run around and get information from the City Council and resource agencies, showed that there's no place with centralised, basic data on the Western Cape. And there's certainly no single publication that includes some of this basic information.

And secondly, the Western Cape itself has been a highly dynamic and rapidly changing part of the country. I don't think any of us have yet come to terms with what has happened here over the last while. We need to try and understand some of the peculiarities of the Western Cape region. The characteristics and features, the rhythms and dynamics that give this part of the world its own particular texture.

So let me start with one or two anecdotes. Murphy spoke last night about the increased speed of events in the 1980s. Well, the Western Cape, sleepy backwater that it was, has hardly been immune.

In 1981, in Worcester the first tentative steps were taken to fly the African National Congress flag publicly in the Western Cape. In those dusty streets of hot, hot Worcester the rag-tag collection of people were awestruck as they assembled for the funeral of comrade Hennie Ferris. Hennie Ferris was a Congress man who had worked within the Labour Party in order to survive the 1960's and remain close to the problems of people in Worcester. The disparate activists, unified only by the flag, come from isolated little pockets and different strands all over the place. There was no over-arching Congress tradition on which to rest, but plenty of suspicion. Even within an ideology, unity still had to be built.

And we move to some 8 yrs later, to the end of the decade, to another march. The march that symbolises it all was the great march in Cape Town, where a common revulsion against police brutality brought together the citizens of Cape Town – from its boardrooms, its professions, its suburbs, its factories, the Flats. Black, white and purple expressed their common purpose in struggle. And I think what said it, compared to the flag at Hennie Ferris's funeral, was comrade Mayor, on the balcony of the City Hall, speaking to the assembled thousands from underneath, or rather above, the flag of the African National Congress.

So from that tiny march in Worcester to the Congress hegemony of the 1990s, this journey, this ongoing, unstoppable growth has today set us on the brink of a new era and one in which the Western Cape has played a part.

Another anecdote, from 1982, concerns a course I was running at UCT (University of Cape Town) on organisations in the Western Cape and a number of frightened intellectuals of the democratic movement who had been asked to address our Honours students. Who today would believe the fears of people like Trevor Manuel and Cheryl Carolus at addressing what they saw as really clued-up academics? They were terrified to come to UCT and today they happily tell whole universities what they should do. And again today I think we see the maturing of our struggle, with apologies to Trevor's loss of hair over that period.

In the 1980s we have really moved from the more isolated protests and fragmented strategies of the early 80s to the challenges of power we face today. From the few tiny community-based structures staffed by a handful of activists, generally in dispute with a handful of equally tiny trade unions mostly based amongst African workers, to today. Today we have a giant and increasingly unified movement where the ANC has hegemony and ideological dominance, and we have a range of sectors and forces that have actively contributed to mass struggles. What a long, creative, exhausting, exhilarating and winding path we have followed through this decade. What a long march. A march that has brought us to the brink of power and a march that has brought us here together today. Because today, we intend to share our skills and knowledge as we try and co-ordinate our efforts for the 1990s. As activists, researchers, members of mass-based organisations or service structures, we are all faced with a central concern.

We need to prepare to govern. Now.

Very shortly we are going to run this country of ours. We are going to be asked to set up structures that enable us to do so.

Who knows, gathered here today may be the core of the officials of a future regional Cape government. In any case, what is sure, we are no longer playing games. Running a country is a serious business. We have limited resources. We need to apply them in a way that maximises our efforts, that enables strategies in different areas to complement each other, that is efficient, that is humane and accessible.

And crucially too, as Murphy pointed out last night, an administration must also be democratic and fundamentally rooted in the working people, in their day-to-day problems, and in their capacity to address these problems themselves, in ways that empower and strengthen them at the very grassroots. As the NECC (National Education Crisis Committee) put it in its recent conference our struggle has moved onto "newer and higher levels". We must prepare to govern. Do we know what this means? It means, we must know what is possible, what is actual. What are the realities we have to face? What are the forces on the ground, and where did they come from?

We need to take a cool, hard look at our situation, our context, and how it got that way.

THE CRISIS: SOME CHALLENGES

If you want to run the Cape, or just Cape Town, these are some of the things you will have to do. I want to give you a few indications of some of the crises we're facing today in the Western Cape.

- You are going to have to cope with a population that will expand by about one third in the next 10 years. There will be more than one million extra people in Cape Town at the end of the next decade. They will have to be housed and given jobs. The sewage will have to be disposed of. They will have to go to school. Somewhere in our romantic notions of leading the working class to victory I don't think we've given enough attention to basic things. Those are the things that are going to determine whether this country works or not. It is okay opening up the beaches but if you end up flooding them with sewage that is not going to take us very far.

- Cape Town will have an African majority, many of them from rural areas who are new to the cities, with their own traditions, culture and needs. Half a million so-called coloureds are already inadequately housed, let alone this new influx that will shape the 1990s.

- We will have to build something like at least 375 000 dwelling units between now and the year 2000, more than 100 houses a day.

- Crime rates and TB rates, both indicators of poverty and overcrowding, are amongst the highest in the world.

■ Something like 750 000 new workers will come onto the job market. That's about 75 000 jobs a year. That's more than 200 jobs a day. This is in the context of a national economic crisis, and the real likelihood of a declining Western Cape economy relative even to the rest of the country.

■ The standard of living of our people is going to have to be drastically raised. Half of the African families in Cape Town earned less than R300 per month in 1980. Two thirds of Coloured families and 80% of African families were below the household subsistence level, and things have only got worse since then.

■ If we look at education levels 70% of Africans in Cape Town had less than Std 6, more than 50% of so-called coloureds had less. The situation is probably far worse, given the massive influx from rural areas. So basic schooling is going to be a priority, including literacy and adult education.

■ More than half the population in the Western Cape is under 24. The youth are a key factor. At the moment they suffer some of the highest levels of unemployment. What will the 1990s provide for them, shattered hopes, or the possibilities of a decent life?

REGIONAL PECULIARITIES

These indicators of poverty have their causes. They are caused in the first place by national structures of oppression and exploitation. The people of the Western Cape, like the rest of the country, are subject to racial discrimination and capitalist exploitation. Black people make up 70% or more of the city. It is a working class town with a ruling class dominance and a white social and cultural hegemony. All these aspects require centralised political changes. The problems cannot be addressed simply or largely at a regional level.

But the Cape, or Cape Town, has its own history too, and its own familiar forms of oppression. A regional history needs to draw out the specific structures of control. What have been the unique characteristics of the Western Cape? How have people been made passive, how have they been fragmented, unable to organise and challenge? These are complicated questions. And it is easier to provide descriptions at this stage than really adequate analysis.

Let me try and mention some key factors that make the Western Cape different.

The economy

The Western Cape is not a particularly important part of the country economically-speaking. Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging, sort of triangle and surrounding areas produce about 45% of South Africa's wealth. Cape Town produces something like 7.5%, similar to Durban, and somewhat more than Port Elizabeth.

Cape Town is largely an administrative and commercial centre. The industries that do dominate are light, consumer industries like food, clothing, textiles, a little bit of light engineering, electronics and chemicals. This affects the character of the labour force in the Western Cape. A large proportion of workers are skilled or white-collar workers. Larger proportions of black workers fall into that skilled category, than in other parts of the country. There is an artisan tradition, and petty-bourgeois openings, that have helped to create a particular form of trade unionism under TUCSA, the Trade Union Council of South Africa in Cape Town. This was a conservative, craft-based unionism more interested in protecting skilled privileges than in tackling the broader structures of exploitation. There is a large artisan and white-collar base in Cape Town and this helps to make for a potentially class-divided community.

Further, if we look at the semi-skilled workers many of them are women. There are as many female as male workers in Cape Town, whereas for black women nationally the figure is about 19% for industrial workers. So if we talk about leadership of the working class in Cape Town, we need to put the issue of women seriously on the agenda. Class divisions are overlaid by gender and sex discrimination both within working class communities and from outside.

And another point needs to be made about the work-force. The work-force is also racially divided. Africans make up some 15% of workers. Yet they do the worst, dirtiest and most difficult jobs. They make up 15% of the total work-force and yet they make up more than 50% of the unskilled workers.

Let's give you another comparative figure. Twenty five percent of so-called coloureds are classified as unskilled workers, 87% of African workers are doing unskilled jobs. Eight percent of African workers are skilled, compared to 18% of coloured workers.

Secondly, the liberal city

Growth has been slow in Cape Town. It hasn't had the same intensity and competitiveness that one sees in the Transvaal. African workers have made up a small part of the total work- force. This has created space for a less segregated city and for the more liberal image that Cape Town has. Trade unions early on co-opted coloured skilled workers alongside their white counterparts. Even the City Council for years had representation for so-called coloureds. City Council politics, itself, also helped to blunt the harsh edge of racial discrimination and encouraged a particular liberal and ad-elitist form of political response.

This "liberalism" of Cape Town is real. The reality is that we don't have a real AWB problem here in Cape Town in the same way that we do in Pretoria. Cape Town is truly a DP city in terms of white politics. It is the only one really in the country and this has created fragmentation and co-option as well as creating potential space and sites for struggle.

Thirdly, petty-bourgeois politics

In the absence of either a working-class movement or a strong African national tradition and in the face of ruling class institutions that penetrated elements of the oppressed communities, very peculiar forms of politics have developed. They are what I term petty-bourgeois politics. The Non European Unity Movement, with a largely professional and middle class social base, pioneered a form of politics based on moral purity and abstentionism. It had some benefits in undermining the crude institutions of Nationalist rule and their attempts to create a "coloured" identity. But it also created a language and style that were alien to the masses of working people and indeed dis-empowered and dis-armed them. It made them feel politics was only something available to people who could speak the right intellectual language, and had read the right intellectual tomes.

That form of politics, given the other forces that reinforced passivity and division, played a largely negative role. NEUM politics, paradoxically, despite its strong working class rhetoric, reinforced petty-bourgeois and separatist coloured politics.

Moving on to look at racial divisions

I think it is a very hard and complex issue to talk about, racial divisions. I think it's something we have to face up to very squarely. I also think, given the above, that it's very hard to talk about such a thing as a coloured community. In fact I would say that one can't, that there isn't such a thing.

But there are real racial divisions that take different forms. And state strategies have been directed at particular groups with particular effects. We cannot wish away these divisions. Simply saying we are all South Africans doesn't make them disappear.

They too are a site of struggle that require concrete work. We need to understand the situation of Africans in Cape Town for a large number of years. They were an embattled, insecure grouping. They had virtually no rights to reside in Cape Town. Housing development was frozen and people were cramped into 3 tiny townships. Jobs were reserved under the coloured preference policy. In the late 1970's, 15 000 African Capetonians per year were being arrested on pass offences. In the beginning of the 1980s 10% of the African population was arrested in one year on pass offences.

Just as an indication of the brutal effects on family life and the attempts by the State to totally destroy it in the Western Cape – of all women arrested in South Africa, from 1980-84, 30% were arrested in Cape Town alone. It was a veritable assault on the African population which was a source of inward-looking, of defensiveness, of fear, rather than of coming from an outward- looking, inclusive, hegemonic tradition.

When some of the worst aspects of state policy were lifted after the heroic squatter struggles in the early 1980s around Crossroads, for example in 1984 when eventually the coloured labour preference policy was done away with, when pass laws were done away with, the result was a massive expansion into areas like Khayelitsha and

other squatter camps. That didn't only ease the pressure on the African townships but created another dynamic, of township areas now larger than the old established townships and amongst whom there is no long term tradition of organising either. So a whole series of new problems have emerged from the easing of those kind of restrictions.

State attempts to co-opt so-called coloureds, had of course contradictory results. On the one hand, the encouraging of real divisions. On the other hand, in the 60's particularly, these efforts truly resulted in bringing so-called coloured people into the national struggle.

For the collective humiliation of racial separation and segregation in the 60's must have created even more bitterness, precisely because there had been so much space for interaction with whites, precisely because of the liberal aspects of Cape Town.

The Group Areas Act moved at least 65 000 coloured families, that's probably about 650 000 people, and sealed their fate in the wind-swept, ghettoes of the Cape flats.

Something that intrigues me is that the whole history of the Group has been suppressed. You'll find generations of high school students who haven't been told by their parents what the group signified. And I think it is also something for psychologists to look at, the effects on a whole community of that kind of collective humiliation and undermining. And all the kinds of social problems that have emerged in the ghetto areas are partially the result of the break-up of communities. These acts of oppression created the very base for the struggles of the 1970's and 1980s.

And indeed another act of co-option – as the State was trying to create separate coloured areas and political institutions like the tri-cameral parliament – one also saw the massive expansion of schools and tertiary institutions. This university itself was to play a central role in the 70's in turning the tide against the system that had created it, by creating a new tradition of defiant mass resistance.

And culture

The last peculiarity of the Western Cape that I would like to ask a few questions about, as I don't know enough to say anything, is the issue of culture. The things I've been saying need to be integrated with a much better sense of culture than we have. What bound people together? What were the traditions of resistance, for example among African communities. What was the effect of the NG Kerk with its conservative, paternalistic hierarchies? What effect did Islam have, on the one hand a tradition of resistance growing out of slave culture, on the other a source of predjudice and a contributor to women workers' passivity? What about the schools' expansion and the growth of a youth culture? And music/song/dance – did these imitate colonial forms, or provide the seeds for opposition. On these issues I can only ask questions.

BUILDING TOMORROW TODAY: STRUGGLES OF THE 80s

These were some of the critical factors and areas on which we had to build, as we entered the 80s. The unity that we see today obviously has not eradicted these divisions. But we have seen concrete, human intervention. People and classes interacting with the structures that shape them. Resisting, restructuring, reacting. By definition the situation is dynamic. The key issues we faced at the beginning of the 80s were passivity, racial division, sexual oppression, class division and national oppression. There is no time to talk about the 80s and the conscious efforts to work on and overcome these problems.

Rather let me mention some of the key events and processes of the 80s, that we've all been part of.

1976, for Cape Town and the nation, established the basis for organisation. It was the youth, schools and university based, rising up to reject apartheid, and to inject conscious politics at a mass level. And here, perhaps too it drew on some of the positive, intellectual traditions of NEUM.

By the late 70's, unionism was rooted amongst African workers, beginning to have some influence among coloured workers and the beginings of community politics were being laid in coloured communities.

1980 coalesced these strands. The militance of students' struggles, the discipline and firmness of

the meat workers, the broadness of community struggles.

The early 1980s and the key mass struggles posed the central issues of organisation and democracy. You'll remember it was also a period of great political tensions that often took the form of tensions between unions and community organisations. And I really think what was going on in that period was debate about the road to be followed to liberation. I think there was a narrower path based solely on workers, and the far broader approach that we know today, drawing a range of forces into the national democratic struggle.

> It was only work on the ground that could answer these questions.

In the Cape, a particular form of community politics emerged. It involved door-to-door organising, meticulous work, mobilising people around day-to-day problems, a very slow process of breaking down the fragmentation and fear caused by the Group Areas Act, to begin to give people the confidence to act in collective ways.

The emergence of the United Women's Organisation in the early 1980s as a non-racial organisation also needs to be singled out as one of the first attempts to break down the racial divisions.

And all the time, we were having to react to shifting state strategies as national dynamics forced apartheid into retreat, sending it to try to find new tactics to recover the initiative. When we set out to try and destroy the tricamarels, when we launched the UDF in 1983 we never dreamed of how successful we would be. It was essentially a campaign geared in the coloured areas. And we had no idea how people would respond to politics in those areas. We must remember how un-politicised people were. Initial responses were either fear "Ons stel nie belang in politiek nie," or division. You could go down a whole street of people who were all behind you, except of course for their neighbour.

I also want to point out the crucial role of the church in this period particularly given the kind of fears I've been talking about and the important role people like Allan Boesak played in justifying the right of people in getting involved in politics. In fact in saying to them it was their religious duty to do so. And the crucial role of the church as one of the few institutions like the schools and the factories that brought people together and that made it possible to organise defence.

And when the African masses responded in 1984 in the Vaal, a new dynamic was brewing, but slowly in the Cape. Great squatter struggles like in Crossroads in 1985 heralded a deepening of African resistance. From July 1985 when people from the Western Cape went up to Matthew Goniwe's funeral and then came back and began to mobilise, the Western Cape re-entered national politics forever. By the time of the Pollsmor march (in August), profound shifts had occurred. I think that month was the key shift. The Western Cape had marched for an African leader of an African-based organisation. And the Western Cape pulled a State of Emergency down on its head in order to defend the rest of the nation that was under siege. From 1985, the Western Cape was ANC territory. The launch of COSATU (the Congress of South African Trade Unions) here in the Western Cape was a significant advance. It was however only recently that a working class dynamic has begun to take on its own momentum.

The effects of community politics have shaken the previous factory passivity and tendency of unions to be based on an embattled African minority. With militant unionism has also gone a tendency to cast aside the narrow forms of factory-based economism, or ultra-leftist workerism.

If there is one thing that the defiance campaign has shown it is that unity can be built. A broad cross-section of involvement deepens and strengthens the struggle, it gives workers space to move and organise. The path of mass struggle and disciplined united action has been firmly forged amongst broad masses of our people in the Western Cape, a truly magnificent tribute to the achievements that we've made in the decade of the 80s.

WHERE TO?

In conclusion: What can I say about looking forward to the 1990s?

We have built a base that is firm and solid enough to actually allow us to pose questions of transfor-

mation, and to ask questions about what kind of policies we want when we govern. But it is a base with immense weak areas. Union and community relations are still very tentative. Racial divisions are still far too strong and co-ordinated action on a whole range of levels, irregular. Squatter areas provide a new form of politics and pressing social needs that we have hardly begun to address. Civic structures are under-developed in the Western Cape. We talk about the Western Cape but in fact I've been mostly talking about Cape Town. How integrated are we, with the up-country areas in terms of identifying problems, and finding solutions? And organisations themselves are not yet extensively mass-based, to ensure widespread participation on a daily level. They are often bureaucratic and dogmatic, inflexible, unable to grasp some of the new thinking that is sweeping the globe.

However, if one looks at what we need to know and also at our research needs, at the accumulated knowledge we have in the Western Cape I think that we also need to say that organisations are far in advance of the intellectuals and academics. At least questions are posed through their practice. People do come together and co-ordinate their questions. Struggles are concretely taken up around identified issues.

And very little of this is reflected in co-ordinated, directed research efforts. Very little of this is in accessible publications, in histories and analyses. Perhaps we need, desparately, a Western Cape research project. Let us hope that CDS and UWC, this kind of conference, can become crucial intellectual centres of the people in this regard. That, perhaps, is the purpose of this weekend's conference. I hope this paper goes some way in assisting the processes.

I hope these processes I've been talking about go some way to getting us to a reality that we will soon be able to face. The reality of a country that is truly ours, where the responsibility for its failures, flaws and problems will rest with us, where in dignity and unity we can begin to address our collective future as a single nation. Where the people indeed do govern and where the riches and wealth are part of the collective heritage of all those who have built the Western Cape.

Thank you.

Graeme Bloch: "I don't think there can be a definitive account of the Western Cape at this point."

Trevor Manuel and translator Mxolise Tolbat

TREVOR MANUEL

Summary of report-backs from theme workshops

This is a summary of the report-backs from 20 small group presentations on dominant themes. The two-hour presentations ranged from political and economic developments in the Western Cape to education, demographic changes and ecology. They included squatter and housing struggles, AIDS, the church, worker controlled co-operatives, health, sport, poverty, cultural challenges and computers. In each presentation the group reflected on the context of organising for democracy in the Western Cape in the 1980s and projected into the 1990s.

There are two jobs I wouldn't wish on my worst enemy. The first is weather forecasting in the Western Cape. The second is what I have been assigned and will now attempt. To try to abstract from 20 theme presentations and probably 40 hours of discussion yesterday is not an easy task. Before commenting on the report-backs and at the risk of treading ground to be covered in evaluating the conference, allow me to make a few comments about it to date. This conference is an extremely important initiative in the country. I think the organisers, the CDS and CACE deserve a very solid round of applause.

However, notwithstanding this importance, one is saddened by the scant participation of rank and file members of our organisations. This must say something about the ability of our organisations to grab hold of futures issues. At the same time it provides pointers to us about the focus of issues in transformation. The absence of these key actors within the struggle in the Western Cape tended to lend a somewhat alienated character to this conference. This brings us to the important question: how are we, broadly as a group of intellectuals, located relative to the mass-based organisations?

I think one should also note with regret the fact that we didn't have a theme presentation from COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) yesterday and that removed from the conference what should probably have been its most important element. I think the organisers of the conference had an extremely difficult task in setting out these various presentations but one of the unfortunate occurrences was certain clashes. For instance, simultaneously one had theme presentations on squatter struggles and housing which tended to create the impression that these are separate concerns within the broader community.

Graeme Bloch yesterday used the phrase "we need to prepare to govern now". What I would firstly like to do is to flesh out this theme using some of the important facts which we heard yesterday.

The first point that gives a definite character to the notion of preparing to govern was the common thread that **the transfer of political power will facilitate addressing the many issues that emerged.**

I use "facilitate" as the operative word because another strong point that emerged was that **the mere transfer of power is not going to solve all the problems, especially the economic ones**. In fleshing out this idea I have identified three important questions.

THREE QUESTIONS

The first is: What do we need to do to ensure the smoothest transition to the people's democracy? The second is: How best do we utilize our resource base? And third: How can we best equip ourselves to staff the political, service and economic institutions.

Transition to people's democracy

Now going back to the smooth transition to people's democracy – a number of important points were raised.

- The first point that should give a lot of character to our work in the 1990s is the need to set realistic objectives for ourselves and for our inter-

action with the masses in respect to health, housing and economic issues and so on.

■ The second is the need to interweave the campaigns of somewhat separate organisations to maximise our effectiveness. To have a sense of a more integrated approach which does not necessarily see ecology and the economy as entirely separate entities – which does not see culture and health as entirely different and in demand of special campaigns which limit co-ordination and overall effectiveness in our interaction with the masses.

■ The third point emerging from the report-backs was the need to build solid organisations which are impervious to state strategy – which are rooted, democratic and accountable, organisations that are capable of regenerating leadership at different levels.

I want to go back to a point made before the presentations yesterday and pick up on something comrade Murphy said on Friday night. This relates to the correct application of principles, strategies and tactics. Given that most groups were saying the transfer of political power IS so important, one assumes that we need the correct application of principles, tactics and strategies. However, this was understated in the report-backs.

One has to understand the distinction between the three concepts and use them for the maximum advance towards a transfer of power. A feature of the present and one that is certainly going to become an increasing focus of the 1990s is the ability to engage and at every turn outwit the enemy. And that calls for a lot of creativity. It calls for a new kind of democracy, for a move away from the "knee-jerk" responses that we sometimes tend to fall into.

Best use of resource base

This takes us into the second major question which arose – how we best utilize our resource basis.

■ One of the points that emerged very strongly from the report-backs was the need to co-ordinate our efforts across organisations, both mass-based and service organisations.

■ The second is a point that calls on us to develop maximally our human potential and to best place our human resources.

■ The third point about resources was stated in just one report back addressing the question of finance. The problems associated with our reliance on foreign funding need to make way for a more creative approach to tap what exists within our community. Outside of what emerged thus far I want to raise what happened with SWAPO and one funder in a crucial period. The funder decided to cut support to SWAPO and unless we are clear about this, we will have foreign funders determining our political future.

■ Then, we need to identify appropriate research areas. Graeme Bloch started his speech yesterday by saying he had extreme difficulty in finding the necessary details about the region. We do have a number of service organisations based on campuses and within the community. It shows that there is disjuncture between the way they are functioning, the way information is co-ordinated and the way in which we are making that information available to the relevant organisations. It shows an overall weakness in our approach to futures planning.

■ Then too, we need to understand our resource base in terms of the prevailing difficulties – the urban/rural divide, the black/white divide, the female/male divide. Understanding the need for affirmative action coupled with political decisions as to how best use our resources.

Equip ourselves to staff future institutions

The third question which emerged is how we can best equip ourselves to staff political, service and economic institutions.

■ A very strong emphasis was placed on the need for education and training, organisational training, skills training, life skills training. The whole ambit of training was recognised by a number of groups as being an important weakness, clearly not receiving enough attention under the present circumstances. One also thinks of the points raised about adult literacy and the effect that can have on the smoothing of the transition to people's democracy.

In terms of training we also have the sense that we are engaged in a battle against ignorance and taboos and here we refer again to the report-backs on literacy, on health and on technology.

And then what emerges too is that it seems that we are engaged in a trial period at the moment, a kind of dress rehearsal and we have the added advantage of being able to grapple with the issues whilst not fully in control of the country.

Again I want to throw in an observation which doesn't necessarily emerge from all the discussions here. That is that we should pretty closely monitor developments in Namibia from here because our own experience has been that we tend to concentrate on mobilizing and organizing people without fully understanding that at some point, and Graeme did raise this point, we are actually going to have to govern this country. That has implications for the work of, for instance, our organisations within the educational sector in terms of developing people, to staff particularly the economy. That has work for our mass-based organisations in terms of the character we give them, the kind of expectations we leave people with at a mass level and the work of our service organisations.

BROAD AREAS NEEDING ATTENTION FOR THE 1990s

I'll now go on to deal with some of the dominant trends which emerged from the report-back system. I just want to restate that it is a difficult task to do justice to all the points that emerged in the report-backs and that they did not do justice to the amount of discussion preceding them in the theme presentations.

Urbanisation

The first broad area which emerges is the sense of organising within the city. Questions of urbanisation, questions of better structured regional organising. The first point there is the kind of civic struggle that takes place. The need to redefine the form of civic struggle, the grappling with a more integrated approach to organising within the community, a move away from the notion that civic struggle deals with merely housing issues to a sense that that the broad ambit of civic organisation should, of necessity, include education-related issues.

And here we don't merely refer to the support for action, but we must do the pro-active work like adult literacy and so on. Issues related to health, the broad spectrum, issues related to welfare and redefining welfare. Moving away from the sense that ecology is an issue that confronts people via the "Save the Rhinos" campaign, which the bosses give a lot of money to. The sense that sport is not an isolated issue, that it cannot be there without political bias, that it needs to be integrated into our mass struggles and it is through linkage with our mass-based organisations that we can do this. There are also the social issues like working out an approach to crime and violence with the community.

It was also raised that the organisations need to extend their legitimacy into areas where they don't necessarily have a presence in order to neutralise state intitiatives. And here sport and the church in general and other institutions that are not overtly political need to be addressed by way of linkages.

Then within the area of urbanisation as well, is an appropriate approach to squatting – primarily in the Western Cape. We were struck by the figure that Graeme produced yesterday that by the turn of the century there'll be an additional one million people in Cape Town and most of them housed in squatter settlements. We need to also reflect on some of the mistakes of the 1980s in respect of squatters. We need to reflect on the kind of linkage that existed and I think Comrade Translator is well aware of the problems which emerged with people like Nxobongwana. But there's also a sense that one has to take the background of people moving into the cities into account, that it calls on the mass-based organisations to compromise in some respects – in terms of style, to be able to effectively organise people moving into the cities.

One of the report-backs, I think it was the one on health, spoke about the 90s being the decade of organisation. Perhaps we should take that suggestion very seriously because we need to build the organs of people's power. We need to build them both quantitatively and qualitatively. We also have to, in the context of work, with respect to urbanisation, face challenges of how to make the cities work.

There are major debates around questions like open cities and so on – I think that Khehla will probably deal with questions like city politics later. But we need to know what is going to be required to make the cities work. We need to understand local government from the perspective that very soon we're going to be called upon to run those institutions.

There's a need to appropriately locate the research function of urbanisation relative to the organisations. And a sense that we can do much to smooth the transition by being fairly sober and realistic about our approach and about our expectations at a mass level.

Economic issues

The second dominant theme was a cluster of economic issues.

A number of groups reported back on the problem of unemployment, the need for an approach to job creation.

Another thread is certainly that of privatisation – from the report-backs on poverty, economy, housing, health and welfare.

And then of course there is the issue of rising prices: bread, fuel, transport etc. I must just state that I have a personal bias here. I am on record for having said that many a government has fallen because they dared increase the price of fuel but here we allow the government to do it with impunity. I think this area calls on us to understand the weaknesses of the state in respect of its economic policies – to see within that the organisational potential, and again, to be fairly sober about the expectations. Also very little work has been done around this in the 1980s, I recall in 1982, the United Women's Organisation mounted a campaign against increasing bread prices. It was found that the issue was extremely difficult, notwithstanding a lot of work that had gone into it, including a bread boycott. It was felt at that stage the issue just could not be won. Do the same conditions apply at this time? These are the kinds of questions we need to ask ourselves in the sphere of macro-economics.

Now I wasn't present at the the group dealing with the Western Cape economy but from the report-back we had a sense that there was quite a debate about what needs to be done with respect to it as a whole.

> A very solid suggestion that emerged was that a conference needs to be organised in the Western Cape dealing specifically with economic issues.

Some of the issues that this possible conference should deal with, emerging from the report-backs, should be: how best can we facilitate that transition. The economy is, and I don't know much about these things, but I think, is in a state of negative growth, or maybe just growth that it cannot create employment for people at this stage. Do we allow this situation to remain and then at an appropriate time try to move the economy from negative growth to positive growth and hope that we can create employment? What approaches do we take? How do we view such issues in relation to political concepts like dual power?

Then too what emerged was the sense that we have to begin taking intitiatives and begin testing the ground to build worker's co-operatives. We find for instance that the constitutional guidelines talking about the economy referred to the private sector, public sector and co-operative sector, but we have come through the 80s with very little on the ground. What exactly does this mean to us in building organisations and taking intitiatives in the 1990s.

The realm of economic issues is not the reserve of the trade union movement. The extent to which we could integrate it with urban struggles, the extent to which trade unions can become part of all that is going to become quite important in the 1990s. And I say that in quite a measured way – one doesn't suggest that the trade union movement collapses itself into some general omnibus.

Political power

And then the last important thread was the notion of political power which emerged yesterday. Now on Friday night, Murphy referred to De Klerk's statement about the beaches and noted it as one of our victories of the Defiance Campiagn. Shirley Walters used the phrase "Naming the Moment" and I think that questions that arise and will con-

front us increasingly in the 90s are: How best do we secure the transfer of p ver? How best do we interlink the kinds of issues we spoke about earlier and the more immediate political demands that might require initiative at a slightly different level. For example how do we link the Conference for a Democratic Future with the housing needs of people moving into Khayelitsha? To what extent does our work on the ground give character to our upfront political initiatives? What distinguishes between the absolutes of reformism and revolutionary initiatives?

Now, a further point that emerged was that I think every group in reporting back yesterday said that "this issue must be placed on the political agenda". But we also know how agendas work – the meeting can adjourn long before that issue comes up. Emerging from the theme presentations yesterday was the sense that we do need an integrated approach, that within the democratic framework we can prioritize and broadly distinguish which initiatives need major mobilisation and which need extensive work in the educational sphere.

And then the question that remains – I don't think it is an unanswered question in South Africa anymore – what do we say about this and the vehicle that brings all of this together, namely, the ANC.

Comrades, those are what, with my bias, emerged as the major themes in trying to pull together the 20 theme presentations from yesterday. But I think that we are standing here on a very positive note, emerging from the discussion came a very strong sense sense of enthusiasm about the 1990s.

One stands with this enthusiasm, yet at the same time what has been hammered into us through the presentations is the need for a realistic and sober approach to WHAT we are capable of doing.

The point about discarding the unnecessary baggage becomes very, very important in drawing on the lessons of our experiences in the 1980s. And the sense that what we are looking for is total development. Development not only in infrastructural terms, but development of human potential, development of new values, new approaches to our work and development towards the people's democracy.

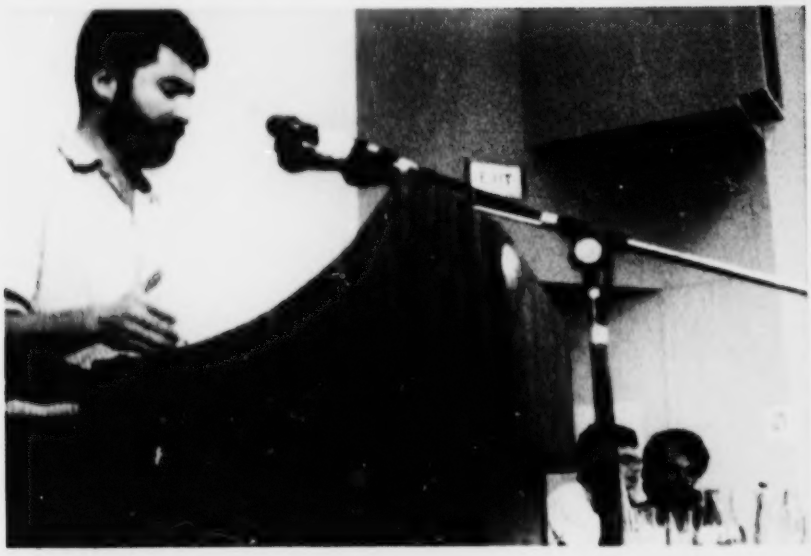
Amandla!

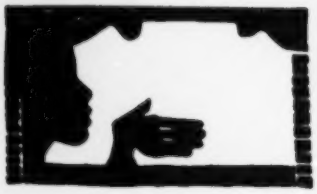
Comrade Chair, those are my very subjective observations and they are open to be hammered down by those present.

Kehla Shubane and Andrew Merrifield

Willie Hofmeyer

Tony Karon, with Willie Hofmeyer and Howard Gabriels





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Tony Karon — member of Negotiations sub-committee of the United Democratic Front (UDF)

City Politics: Soweto

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Constitutional Guidelines

Willie Hofmeyer — executive member of UDF

Labour and Economic Alternatives

Howard Gabriels — regional secretary for South African Congress of Textile Workers Union

ANDREW MERRIFIELD

State Strategy

I am supposed to give the background to some of the other issues being discussed on the panel. What I am going to do is describe basic assumptions underlying state strategy and make comments on how these assumptions can give us some idea of how the state may move in future.

Before I discuss state strategy I will make a few qualifications.

Qualifications

- Firstly, it is dangerous to assume the state is a unified entity with a non-contradictory policy. It has a diverse collection of institutions from the security apparatus to parliaments, courts and departments of foreign affairs. There are also private institutions which reinforce the state and initiatives such as the KwaNatal Indaba. However, to simplify, I will argue that regardless of their differences they share a common set of assumptions on how to resolve their crisis. This is shown in the uniformity of policy statements.

- Secondly, only once we understand these common assumptions can we understand the tactics of the different actors. For instance we can't predict the outcome of a football match based on our understanding of the players' positions, nor on the basis of their overall gameplan. But when we understand the different functions of the players, their gameplan and the characteristics of the players, we are in a better position to neutralise their strengths and exploit their weaknesses.

- Thirdly, because of these assumptions, I reject interpretations of state strategy based on whether the "hawks" or the "doves" are in control. The "hawks and doves" thesis underestimates the structural constraints of state activity and overemphasises the attitudes of particular people. Actors in the state work together in terms of a reasonably coherent strategy.

In the light of these qualifications, I will argue that in the past 12 years, state strategy has centralised the security apparatus while decentralising, deracialising, and privatising the systems that provide jobs, housing, transport and schooling on a regional or local basis.

This has been implemented through the National Security Management System (the Joint Management Councils, JMC's) which centralises and coordinates the operations of the security forces. It is now trying to devise a decentralised federal system to allow for black political participation at a local, regional and national level. So far, the state has limited black political participation to the black municipalities and the RSC's, but in future, it will try to set up some sort of national council/forum to allow for national black participation.

I would argue that the state is more likely to yield at local level concerning welfare (that is jobs, housing, services, etc) than on national issues, especially concerning security. It is more likely to allow participation in government than to consider a transfer of power.

Since 1984, the state has faced widespread resistance. In 1985 and 86 especially the state believed it was facing a revolutionary situation. In 1986 alone it sponsored more than 100 studies on revolution.

From all these studies it came up with the parable of the fish and the water: The revolutionary moves amongst the masses like a fish swims in water. To kill the fish, you have to remove it from the water. Similarly, to kill the revolutionary you have to separate him/her from the masses.

But during the first state of emergency when the state tried to remove the fish (the activists), it antagonised many more people by its indiscriminate use of force and many were mobilised in support of the ANC, UDF and COSATU.

Therefore the state developed a two-pronged strategy to deal with the rebellion. This strategy would use security against the revolutionaries (fish) while providing welfare and upgrading for the masses (water).

Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Development Aid said in 1988 that there was a "lot of symbolic support for the ANC ... but very little support for the essentials of their policy .... In time we will get a sufficient number of prominent leaders to participate in the democratic game so eventually those who still lust after revolution will become irrelevant in South Africa as they are in the US or Britain".

Counter-revolutionary strategy is designed to separate the revolutionary from the rest of the population. The state estimates that only 20% of the people in South Africa support the revolutionaries, another 30% support the state and the remaining 50% are undecided. In the post-1984 period, this 50% sided with the revolutionaries, but the state believes that if it can neutralise the 20%, then it can win over the 50% and thus have the support of 80% of the population.

Since 1986 there has been a shift in emphasis on different aspects of state strategy. Initially the military, emphasising security and upgrading, controlled the National Security Management System. But as unrest declined the police took over many of the positions on the JMC's. A civil rather than a military force, the police recognised the need to re-establish civil authority in communities.

Since late 1987, the state has begun to move on the political front. Many of the basic assumptions that had guided its reform strategy since the late 70's were dusted off. I would suggest that, like the counter-revolutionary strategies, these longer term strategies are designed to marginalise the revolutionary forces.

Since the 1970's, the state had a total strategy for maintaining political power. This was based on theories of 'Consociationalism' (power), 'National Security Ideology' (security), 'Regionalisation' and 'Privatisation' (economics).

National Security Ideology

On the basis of their understanding of National Security Ideology, military stragetists in the late 70's argued that apartheid was not defensible in such a total and indirect war because it caused great dissatisfaction amongst the majority of the people. If the capitalist system were to survive, a new system that moved away from obvious racial discrimination would have to be developed.

Consociationalism

Consociational theorists realised that if everyone could vote, Parliament would be dominated by the party with majority support, most likely the ANC, and that smaller parties representing the exclusive interests of the whites would probably have few or no representatives.

They proposed a system to limit majority rule which would have the following features.

- It would divide up the political space, for instance, by a federation of smaller units defined regionally or racially which would diffuse the power of a central government.
- Differences between these separate units would be reconciled by a national council of state on the basis of consensus or minority veto.
- Representation would be mainly on a proportional basis to ensure some representation for the smaller groupings.

The emphasis on consociational government is to encourage 'inter-elite negotiation and accommodation' where political elites would resolve political differences without direct reference to their consituencies, behind closed doors so those negotiating could change their positions without publicity. Such systems of government would neutralise political issues by redefining them in technical terms.

Regionalisation

By the late 70's, the state planners, especially those in finance, realised that the reserve policy was not going to succeed. Their attempts to decentralise industry had failed and the reserves would never be economically independent or viable. They divided South Africa into nine economic development zones to reintegrate the reserves into the South African economy while at the same time attempting to overcome the economic concentra-

South African economy while at the same time attempting to overcome the economic concentration of the Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereeniging area and port cities (which produce more than 70% of the wealth in SA). These nine zones now serve as the boundaries for security management through the JMC system, and may in the future serve as some sort of political division in a federal system.

A key assumption of regionalisation was 'fiscal equivalence' which means that those who decide, benefit and pay for government services are the same people. Fiscal equivalence introduces market rationality in government decisions – you only get what you pay for – and is therefore considered self-correcting. The principle of fiscal equivalence raises questions about the viability (let alone the morality) of "local options".

Given the vast mal-distribution of resources, it is likely that the "local option" will only be feasible in the PWV area which produces more than 40% of the country's wealth. The KwaNatal Indaba has been criticised (by the Nats) because existing government expenditure (excluding police, justice and security) exceeds regional income by 22%. To equalise spending on education alone would take 2,5 times the regional income. I think a similar problem would arise from such a "local option" in the Western Cape.

Privatisation

The underlying belief of most reformists was that the so-called 'free enterprise' system was economically more efficient and politically more secure. Reformists were also concerned that the state had become the focus for all black grievances because up until the early 1980s it was primarily responsible for providing most black services. They believed that privatisation was not only economically attractive but would provide a politically neutral system of conflict resolution. Privatisation would stimulate economic development, relieve the state of an increasing financial burden and shift the responsibility for providing services to the private sector.

In 1977 J A Lombard, now deputy director-governor of the Reserve Bank, laid out the guidelines for almost all subsequent constitutional proposals by the government.

Lombard divided up the functions of the state between those of welfare (concerning jobs, housing, transport, education and health care) and security (police, army, foreign affairs). He argued that in order to ensure national security, the welfare functions could be privatised, decentralised and deracialised while the security functions had to be centralised. They could not be decentralised or open to democratic control by all races.

Most strategies coming from the regime as well as many others from the opposition (Democratic Party), big business (ASSACOM, FCI), the KwaNatal Indaba and so on all adopt the following pattern: They advocate decentralisation of political decision-making around welfare issues while accepting the need for a strong central security system.

They try to redirect national demands into local or regional solutions.

They all rely on economic rather than political means to resolve conflict that may arise from the allocation of scarce resources.

I would argue that the state's long-term and short-term strategies roughly coincide, except that the current organisation of political power through the welfare and security arms of the state do not make provision for the political participation of Africans at a national level. The state's current five year plan is a feeble attempt to address this problem.

The state is currently facing two main problems:

- To devise a system in which credible leaders will participate on the basis of negotiation and consensus. FW De Klerk is promoting a joint decision-making council operating on the basis of consensus (concurrent majorities): "Political power must be shared within the common political structures on the basis of joint decision-making in the matter of common concern."

- To devise a system of representation that will deliver such credible leaders. As Ron Miller, former Deputy Minister for Information, describes it: "Without black participation by means of leaders endorsed by their constituencies, there can be no long term prospects for peace in South Africa".

Conclusion

The state has a strategy to deal with its perceived revolutionary crisis. It is no guarantee, but it does provide a means of creating "a permanent state of transition", to quote Gavin Reilly. The strategy cannot resolve all the crises of the state, but it does allow the state to stay in the game in the near future.

General Fraser, former Chief of the Army who designed the foundations of the current system said: "The strategic problem of government may be defined as follows: to find the favourable minority and organise it to mobilise the rest of the population against the revolutionaries...Those who are not with the government must either be capable of persuasion...or they must be publicly declared the enemy.

This means that: The state's centralised JMC security system will allow it to deal with isolated incidents but whether it could cope with a nation-wide rebellion as in 1984-86 needs to be tested.

The state realises it cannot provide enough housing, jobs, transport, education and health care but believes it can deliver enough to resolve the security situation. Both the short term system of prioritising upgrading in terms of security risk, and the longer term attempt to decentralise, regionalise and privatise the provision of jobs, housing, transport, education and health care and limit the number of people who benefit.

The state believes it does not need to negotiate a transfer of power because it thinks it can win over most of those whose support for these organisations it regards as "symbolic".

TONY KARON

Negotiations

Negotiations are a central arena of struggle for the 1990s and have already begun.

"Negotiation" was almost a swear-word in the democratic movement five years ago. This was because we had not thought through the questions of how power would change hands in South Africa, and we had over-estimated our own strength.

Eighteen months ago it would have been inconceivable to imagine the South Africans negotiating with Soviets and Cubans, and agreeing to Namibian independence. The idea of P W Botha having tea with Nelson Mandela would have been laughed at.

Yet, in the very recent past these things have happened. These developments occur in a world where the Soviets' "new thinking" has promoted dialogue and negotiation as the key means of solving superpower and regional conflict.

Furthermore, the fact that most major conflicts since 1945, and every national liberation struggle in Africa, have ended at the negotiating table, made it inevitable that the issue of negotiations would arise in the South African struggle.

> The struggle in South Africa has entered a new phase, in which negotiations become a central arena of struggle.

Initiatives have been launched by the imperialists and the regime to define a process of negotiations over South Africa's future. This does not mean they have now accepted the validity of the people's struggle, and are prepared to surrender.

Nor is it simply a clever plot. It is a result of our struggles. Originally the regime believed they could make "reforms" and ignore the people's organisations, but they cannot be ignored.

The imperialists and the regime hope to win new space and regain the political initiative by launching negotiations on their terms. They believe the democratic forces are too weak to impose terms at this stage. They hope they can confuse, divide and demobilise the forces ranged against apartheid and give the government space to implement apartheid reforms.

The challenge for the democratic movement is not simple.

It cannot simply reject negotiations - this will achieve the division the imperialists intend to create.

If the South African people believe we have simply ignored opportunites to end confict in our country peacefully we will become isolated.

One reason why the government is vulnerable at present is that it desperately needs foreign funds, which are held back by sanctions. We have to maintain this pressure. If Western countries believe Pretoria has offered "reasonable" negotiating terms, and we have rejected those, we will once again weaken ourselves and give the regime more space.

We cannot abandon our conception of the struggle for power. We can never see negotiations as an alternative to building our organisations and intensifying our struggle.

> On the terrain of negotiations, the democratic movement has to take the strategic initiative.

What are negotiations?

Negotiations are meetings between representatives of adversaries, at which they attempt to find a resolution to their conflict, which is acceptable to both sides.

Conflict in our country is not based on a misunderstanding as liberals will sometimes argue. The government and the ANC both represent blocs of classes whose objective interests are

in conflict. The contradictions between the white ruling bloc and the black oppressed (both blocs of classes) cannot be resolved simply through discussions. It can only be resolved in a struggle which destroys the system of white minority rule, and replaces it with the national democratic state.

Negotiations are not an alternative to struggle, they are a form of struggle, waged alongside other forms of struggle. Negotiated settlements don't eliminate conflict, they change the rules. Trade unions teach an important lesson. The struggle between the workers and the bosses continues, even after certain agreements have been negotiated.

Workers' representatives are mandated, and constantly report back and are given fresh mandates. They do not simply make deals behind closed doors, for this would make it easy for the bosses to manipulate and corrupt those representatives.

Workers also don't only rely on negotiations, they combine them with other tactics like strikes, stoppages, go-slows, overtime-bans, court actions, pickets, demonstrations and consumer boycotts. If they are to win their demands at the negotiating table they have to have the power to pressure the bosses.

Negotiations always involve compromise

If an enemy were so weak that no compromise had to be made with him, there would not have been any need to negotiate. How then should compromises be judged?

Lenin suggested that a principle of "no compromise" was not useful or realistic, but it was necessary to distinguish between necessary compromise and treacherous compromise. Treacherous compromises sacrificed the objectives of the struggle and amounted to surrender. Necessary compromises were made because of the greater strength of the enemy on a particular terrain, or because it became impossible to continue a particular form of struggle indefinitely, or were necessary to maintain the mass support of an organisation.

Necessary compromises facilitated the continued struggle to realise the objectives of the struggle. Compromises had to be measured on the basis of whether they allowed revolutionary forces space to organise and continued or weakened that ability.

> Negotiated settlements ultimately reflect the balance of forces.

Diplomatic tricks and skillful negotiation cannot make up for weaknesses on the ground. When management makes concessions to workers it is because they recognise the power of those workers and they realise that they will face disruptions if they remain stubborn.

The main question in a negotiating process will ultimately be the balance of forces in struggle, and how this can be shifted in favour of the democratic movement. This means that our strength on the terrain of negotiations depends ultimately on the strength of our mass organisations.

While settlements reflect the balance of forces, the way we engage in negotiation can also help shift the balance of forces.

Negotiations are a long process of struggle, with the stating of preconditions, communicating through third parties and the press and then talking about talks, discussing the realisation of preconditions. This may or may not lead to comprehensive negotiations over a settlement.

The negotiation process in South Africa has already begun.

In this process, both sides try to win the moral high ground, not simply to feel superior, but to win new allies and sections of the masses.

Both sides also try to weaken, divide and demobilise the enemy's forces. For example, the regime believes that "agreeing" to negotiate can weaken the resolve of people to struggle on. On the other hand the democratic movement will try to win over sections of the white community and Pretoria's international allies.

Negotiations are part of an ongoing struggle whose outcome will be decided less by what happens at the negotiating table as by what happens away from it.

Why are negotiations on the agenda in South Africa now?

The ANC has always been prepared to negotiate a genuine transition to a non-racial democracy in South Africa. The Nationalist Government has not.

Even when apartheid's crisis began after 1976, they hoped they could get away with apartheid reforms which ignored the people and their organisations. The major imperialist governments - the US, Britain, West Germany and others backed this position.

Their assessment was that the regime was strong and anti-communist. The liberation movement was too weak to topple the regime and its anti-imperialist orientation worried the imperialists. The imperialists therefore supported the policies of "constructive engagement" introduced by Reagan. They calculated that with their support, Pretoria could make the reforms necessary to stabilise the situation.

The question of negotiations has come onto the agenda because the positions of the regime and imperialism have changed.

Botha's reforms were defeated by the mass struggles led by the UDF and the nation-wide revolt which followed created an immediate crisis.

The challenges

The regime and the imperialists have had differences on how far to go in making reforms. But the weapon of sanctions has forced Pretoria to implement the imperialist agenda.

"Our ability to make decisions is limited," Police Minister Adrian Vlok recently admitted. "If sanctions are introduced against us we can do nothing..." The government, Vlok said, was negotiating with the ANC while it could from a position of strength. Talking to the ANC was a way of "fighting them with another instrument".

The regime's objectives in negotiations are to regain the strategic initiative. It aims to do this by:

- defusing the international pressure
- demobilising the people from struggle
- dividing the democratic movement
- winning new allies.

It is not clear exactly how far Pretoria will go. Clearly the release of Mandela and other prisoners can be expected soon after the election. The Emergency will probably also be lifted.

At the same time, the regime is unlikely to meet the preconditions set out by the ANC - as it says, it believes it is operating from a position of strength.

The regime will also try and delay any process of negotiation, and fix the agenda around their political initiatives.

The imperialist intitiatives are designed to poison our national democratic struggle. **But there are two important mistakes to avoid:**

● Waiting for foreign pressure and diplomatic activity to create a settlement. The balance of forces is not yet decisively in our favour, and unless we shift it through struggle, our liberation will be stillborn.

● Rejecting negotiations and ignoring this as a terrain of struggle. The democratic movement will have to approach the negotiations issue, bearing in mind the following objectives:

1) to maintain the perspective of struggle while understanding negotiations. Our strength is the organisation of people.
2) to continually pursue alliances, for example at the Organisation of African Unity and at the Conference for a Democratic Future and isolate the enemy. De Klerk must be confronted by a peace plan everywhere he turns, we need to maintain the intitiative.
3) to maintain a sharp understanding of the debates and divisions among the enemy. It is not enough to keep saying the same old things.

We need to look at our strategic options:

● to maintain a strong sense of international factors: our strengths and the regime's weaknesses, our weaknesses and their strengths, they are all intimately connected. A big part of their weakness

- to understand the art of compromise from a negotiations perspective. We are not simply going to get what we want. The regime won't meet all the preconditions, but we need to avoid treacherous opportunism and rejectionism which isolates and go for compromise which lays the ground for our advance;

- to relate negotiations to other terrains of struggle, not to be demobilised and to co-ordinate our actions

- to develop a perspective on how to transform partial visions into total visions The terrain has opened up. Victory in the 90s is going to depend as much on our mass struggles as on our ability to master this terrain.

KEHLA SHUBANE

City Politics: Soweto

The SPD, Soweto People's Delegation, as you might know, came into existence in 1988. That was two years after the rent boycott that began in Soweto in June 1986, two years after the Vaal boycott began.

The Soweto rent boycott, as against other boycotts in the Transvaal and the Free State, didn't start as a result of an increase announced by the Soweto Council. All other boycotts, including the Vaal boycott, began because the council had announced an increase in the tarrifs.

In '86 when the Soweto rent boycott began, there hadn't been an increase in Soweto in rates and rents and service charges for almost three years. The council was quite convinced that raising tarrifs at that stage would be a recipe for conflict.

And comrades, in Soweto we're facing this problem because comrades in the Vaal were saying that they are under tremendous pressure from the state who were evicting people, and if boycotts were generalized the belief was that the concentration of police attention would be dissipated.

A series of demands were put on the table when the Soweto rent boycott began. I think our demands were different from those made from other townships in that ours were far more political than economic. I won't deal with that period though. I want to move straight away into the SPD experience.

The Soweto People's Delegation

The emergence of the SPD, Soweto People's Delegation, was informed by a few things.

One, a popular council had just been elected in the elections of that year, the Sofasonke Party, which I think was beginning to challenge the popularity of the Civic Association on the ground. In fact, in shack areas the Soweto Sofasonke party (they call themselves that) seemed to be gaining far more support than the Civic Association. In one score they had far more support than we had.

They gained that majority on the council on the basis that they were going to address the question of rent. We believe that support for the rent boycott was gained among conservative elements in the community precisely because the Sofasonke Party, through its demands, had lent its support to the rent boycott as a whole. That support was not the same as what the Soweto Civic Association had called for.

The Sofasonke Party proposed that R15 be paid for services across the board, and certainly not rent. They supported the demand that the houses be transferred to people. We, at that stage, had not suggested the amount of money that people should pay in services.

Quite clearly, therefore, when these people had taken over power in the Soweto Council, proposing that we negotiate the question of rent, the Soweto Civic Association was placed in a fairly uncomfortable position.

But the other reason that went into informing those people who formed the SPD to negotiate with the council and other state agencies was repression. Almost the entire layer of our leadership in the Civic Association was locked up in jail.

And work had become fairly difficult once there were strict committees in place. It was difficult for us to make interventions at a public level because we couldn't, at that stage, risk taking that layer of our leadership that still remained in Soweto. And it was decided that the Civic Association itself should not participate in these negotiations.

Instead, we should form a grouping comprising fairly eminent leaders of the community who would negotiate with the council. I don't think, at that stage, we were entirely sure how this process would open up and proceed.

None-the-less, a grouping of seven fairly prominent members of the community were elected. Coincidentally, two of them at that stage

CACE
CDS

were threatened with evictions, both Frank Chikane and Bishop Tutu. They had indicated to the council that they wanted to defend those evictions in court, and we took advantage of that situation and had those two people leading the delegation. Other members of that delegation were Cyril Ramaphosa, Ellen Khuswayo, Albertina Sisulu, Father Liebermann, Lebamang Sibidi and Sister Bernard Ngcube – big names in the community, obviously.

When they went off to meet the council, they had with them five demands.

- The one was that their entire housing stock be transferred to the ownership of the community, not the individual tennants, the community.
- The arrears that had arisen as a result of the rent boycott be written off completely.
- The third was that an affordable service charge be worked out both by the council and the community.
- And that the infrastructure in Soweto as a whole be upgraded.
- The fifth, and most important, was that a single tax base between Johannesburg and Soweto be created.

To our surprise, the Soweto Council agreed to all these demands, and in addition they agreed that they would not evict people or send eviction notices to anybody during these negotiations. And that side of the bargain has been kept to this date. No-one has been evicted in Soweto as a result of the rent boycotts since 1988, and no-one has been served with eviction notices.

Immediately that argument was concluded, it became quite clear to us that we needed to do a bit more work around the demands we had tabled before the Council.

At the same time the Transvaal Provincial Association and the security police, immediately swung into action in an attempt to sabotage those discussions. The chief of the security police in Soweto visited the mayor of Soweto, so too did the TPA, and their approach was that the security police were still not convinced that negotiations with what they called revolutionary forces were appropriate. They were trying to get the mayor to gainsay the arguments that were reached between the SPD and his council, to which, as he informed the SPD, he refused.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration, on the other hand, was trying to pressurize the Soweto Council to issue a statement publicly disassociating themselves from the arguments raised in that meeting in December 1988 between the SPD and the Soweto Council. That too the Soweto Council refused to do. Unfortunately we didn't understand at that stage why they fed this information right through to the SPD.

Several meetings thereafter it became quite clear that much as the two parties had agreed to these five demands, we needed to implement some of these things.

Transvaal Provincial Administration

And the TPA loomed fairly large on the horizon as a very important player. And both delegations agreed that they needed to see the TPA as a joint grouping.

Several attempts to see the TPA were made. The TPA agreed to meet the Soweto Council but didn't agree to meet the SPD. They only agreed to do that this year. And we believe that they agreed to meet the SPD because of the intervention of the cabinet. This I am not sure of. Rumour has it in Soweto that, as part of the negotiations, or the exploration of the question of negotiations going on in government, they, the cabinet, specifically instructed the TPA to meet with the SPD. None-the-less, that meeting, as we all know, did take place.

None of the five demands were discussed other than to say that the TPA has taken note of the five demands that were tabled before the Soweto Council in '88 and was not in a position to give us a definite reply on those demands. What they agreed to, and in fact this came from them as a suggestion, is that a technical committee be appointed comprising the Soweto City Council, the SPD and the TPA, that would investigate these five demands and report back to the principals.

We've since met as the technical committee, and we've drawn up a research timetable that will take us until June of next year by which time we hope to report to our principals. It is at that level the policy agreements would be struck.

ESCOM

Another important player that emerged fairly soon after the meeting with the Soweto Council in '88 was ESCOM. At that stage ESCOM had sent a team in Soweto, even before those discussions took place in December of '88, to find out from the Soweto Civic Association, what it thought the supply of electricity should look like.

And at that stage we weren't sure what we really needed, all we were saying to ESCOM is that the amount of money we were paying for electricity should be cut fairly drastically. We have since appointed a technical team, that is the SPD has appointed a technical team, which has been working for the past two years with the technical team of ESCOM, investigating various facets of the supply of electricity in Soweto.

I think what caused the establishment of that technical team was one fundamental argument between the SPD and ESCOM, and that was that the Soweto City Council must be excluded in the supply of electricity in Soweto. ESCOM agreed with that and that provided a basis upon which this – call it co-operation – of two years between the SPD and ESCOM, has evolved.

The SPD submitted a statement of principle which basically set out its view on the supply of electricity in Soweto. The principle factors were that electricity be supplied to Soweto on a non-racial basis, the supply of the electricity to Soweto be linked to that of Johannesburg, and that the Soweto Council obviously be excluded from the supply of electricity.

There were eight points contained in that policy statement. ESCOM has to date not really replied to that proposal, but it's become quite clear that some of the views they hold are fundamentally opposed to those of the SPD. For example, once they agreed that the community should participate in the new entity that would supply electricity to Soweto, they still feel that privatization be maintained on the table.

They agree that in the first ten years it would be impossible to put privatization as a fairly strong view on the table because the losses that have been made by the Soweto Electricity Department are massive. I think that what has been accumulated by that department stands more or less at about R500 million. And before electricity could be supplied on a profitable basis that amount would have to be written off or, rather be paid back.

And that leads me to the second view that ESCOM holds.

Whilst the community thinks that whoever takes over the supply of electricity in Soweto must address himself to the question of the debt, ESCOM does not want to have anything to do with what they call the historical debt which is rising almost all the time. The overall debt that Soweto is saddled with, we believe, is close to R1 billion. But we, as a community, are not prepared to pay debts that arise from apartheid planning. For an example, part of the R1 billion that we owe is as a result of loans that were raised by the Johannesburg City Council way back in the '50s to provide houses to Soweto. Let me leave ESCOM there.

The one important argument that has arisen is that ESCOM has also been allowed by the TPA to supply electricity to Soweto, and for some strange reason the TPA has given their permission to supply electricity directly to Soweto, if their unit cost of electricity does not exceed that of Johannesburg. The implication for that is fairly drastic. Johannesburg has been able to lower its unit cost because of the industries that are located in Johannesburg, and that leads to residents paying 30% of the revenue that Johannesburg gets from electricity.

Last year that revenue gave them a suplus of R140 million when Soweto made a loss of R90 million. Now, agreeing to Soweto paying 10,4 cents, which is the maximum they can charge, presupposes that Soweto will benefit from that commercial and industrial base that has been able to lower the unit charge of electricity in Johannesburg.

How this is going to be done I have no idea.

The Rand Water Board

The other player that has come up is the Rand Water Board which supplies water to Soweto. Now what is interesting about the Rand Water Board is that when all these services were being cut from Johannesburg – electricity for instance used to be supplied to Soweto via Johannesburg, but ESCOM

supplies it directly to them – the Rand Water Board has not cut its lines from Johannesburg to Soweto. Soweto still gets its water from Johannesburg, and the Rand Water Board, in its involvement in these negotiations, wanted to supply water separately to Soweto from Johannesburg. That we refused because we thought that the supply of water to Soweto via Johannesburg is in keeping with the creation of one tax base demand.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa

The other player that is coming on stage fairly rapidly is the Development Bank of Southern Africa, which up until now has been working with the TPA in an attempt to create what they call a commercial base to Soweto. We see this as an attempt to obviate the problems that we think the TPA sees in the demand of a creation of a one tax base. The DBSA, recently issued a report in which they show that it is possible to attract capital to Soweto. The report also suggested that a committee chaired by the president of the Development Bank of South Africa be set up to channel capital into Soweto. The SPD has made an appointment to see the DBSA.

I should mention here that the Alexander Action Committee, has had a meeting with the DBSA, and they seem to support the fact that even if there weren't rent boycotts, those townships would still not be financially viable. This gives us an impression that our demand of one tax base, if pursued with the DBSA, stands a chance of success. A meeting has been set up fairly soon with the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Implications

Now having sketched this picture, which basically was an attempt to give people some information of what is happening on the ground, one needs to deal with the implications of that entire process.

- **Strategy**

I think of the fact that we have separated the process between the SPD and the Soweto Civic Association. We did that because negotiations with all these groups should not be an alternative to struggle. Perhaps the separation of the two was an attempt by the Soweto Civic Association to have the best of both worlds.

If the negotiations collapse, our structures should be intact and the Soweto Civic Association should not in future be saddled with a strategy that may not have been correct.

- **Future**

The second, we are fairly confident now that these negotiations hold something for us in the future. The Johannesburg City Council has up until now, for example, refused to be part of these negotiations. But as a result of our negotiations with the TPA, the TPA has agreed to pressurize the Johannesburg City Council to become part of the process that is developing.

As a result the Johannesburg City Council has said whilst they do not agree with the creation of one tax base they are prepared to exile a certain portion of the industrial base falling within their municipality to be run by the Soweto Council. Of course that is unacceptable to us.

The point I am trying to make is that even within official circles there is an admission that without the creation of a greater political economy within Johannesburg, there is absolutely no way that Soweto is going to be able to survive as a separate local authority. And there is a view within the Civic Association that if we can improve day to day living conditions of people through these negotiations we should go for that.

That view goes on to suggest that if those concessions can be reaped from the state basically, from the local state, that is good for organisation, and it provides a basis for us to advance the gains we have made up until now. At this late stage we are still not certain what is the agenda of the state in allowing these discussions to go on. We have noted that the cabinet has given a go-ahead to these negotiations. Why that was the case we certainly are not sure. In meeting up with all these agencies, we are noting one concern from them. ESCOM, for instance, is extremely concerned with the implications of linking the supply system between Soweto and Johannesburg, because on a large scale the profits they stand to lose are massive. And they do not want to do that.

Just two more points I want to make, Comrade.

● **Research**

The one thing that also has emerged as a fairly critical area in the work that we have done is research. All the agencies we have discussed with have a fairly large research base that they are relying on – ESCOM, DBSA etc. And the amount of money we have used for research does not even form a tenth of what all these other agencies have invested in research.

● **Political implications**

The one other important implication of our demand is that a single tax base does not address the political implications of what should come out of that process, and we have deliberately kept away from the politics of this entire process. What I meant by that is that if we're demanding the creation of a one tax base, we should logically demand the creation of some political body that would administer that one tax base. But because of the problems that obviously arise from that, we have definitely kept away from demanding anything that would imply that we also want a greater Johannesburg City Council.

Thanks.

WILLIE HOFMEYER

Constitutional Guidelines

INTRODUCTION

We all know that last year the ANC adopted constitutional guidelines. As the name implies they are a draft. We are meant to discuss them, but it is surprising how little we have done, we are always too busy with the struggle. It is ironic that we neglect the issues that are really important for the future. I hope this short introduction will begin to put this discussion on the agenda.

I have been told to assume that people do not know the content of the proposals, so this talk will be informative with a bit of analysis, and criticisms which we need to debate.

BACKGROUND

I suppose the first question is: why not before?

The ANC could have been seen too much like imposing from the outside. This could have been the case especially where discussion with the Mass Democratic Movement inside is (or was) difficult. And they also do not want to appear as a government in exile.

Why did it happen after all?

There was pressure from overseas for clarity. The Freedom Charter leaves many questions unclear. There was also pressure internally from allies. As the ANC said when announcing them: they are to create a legal and constitutional framework through which the aims and concepts contained in the Freedom Charter can be realised.

As Graeme said on Friday, we are entering a debate where preparing to govern is on the agenda and we need to start thinking very seriously about the practicalities.

Post-apartheid research and models have become a growth industry – the Centre for Development Studies is part of our answer.

And as Zola Skweyiya, head of the legal department of the ANC, says, "we cannot allow ourselves to be dictated to by outsiders on this issue". We don't want the same to happen here that happened in Zimbabwe with the Lancaster House agreement.

But more important, there is no doubt of the ANC base anymore. It cannot be seen as an external movement only. And it is now easier to discuss things openly inside. Hence an eight person constitutional committee was appointed chaired by Jack Simons.

But it is still stressed that the guidelines are a draft only. Skweyiya said the drafting of a final constitution "could only correctly be drawn up by elected representatives of all the people of our country – ideally sitting as a consitutional assembly".

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STATE

Remember the Freedom Charter is not made of minimum demands but of aims. Many people are disappointed that the guidelines do not talk of a socialist state. Remember that this is a transitional state and that we argue that the national democratic struggle will provide the most favourable conditions for the working class to struggle for socialism. But it will be a struggle. It will not be automatic as other classes will attempt to stamp their own authority on the process of change.

CONTENT AND FEATURES

The State – Politics

A non-racial, democratic and unitary SA is envisaged. Unitary because it will be important to have a strong state to correct the inequalities of apartheid. And the need for democratic accountability is stressed.

A multiparty democracy and not a one party system is clearly envisaged. The only activity banned would be racial organisation, for example, the National Party, but what about Inkatha?

We have learnt from the lessons of Eastern Europe where they were not sufficiently democratic. It is also important to avoid destabilisation. There are also questions on direct democracy, taking into account the organs of people's power that have emerged. It is not enough to elect somebody every few years. There is nothing yet regarding the mass organisations and what role they will have.

Bill of Rights and Affirmative Action

A bill of rights based on the Freedom Charter is proposed which guarantees the human rights of individuals and is subject to a ban on racial organisation.

We have always criticised individual rights as not going far enough. What is the use of individual rights when people are unemployed, homeless and starving. So we see collective rights as a vital part of the constitutional guidelines, for example to eradicate economic and social inequalities, to guarantee education and social security, especially the right to work which is very important for the working class.

I would argue that the recognition of individual rights is also very significant. While we have correctly criticised the limitations of individual rights, this has often lead us to dismiss the importance of such rights. The consitutional guidelines make an important advance by giving recognition to them. Indeed, this is consonant with developments elsewhere. For example, in the USSR where the 19th party congress criticised itself for the lack of these rights and called for the "utmost attention to the legal protection of the idividual, to consolidate the guarantees of the political, economic and social rights and freedoms of Soviet people" and to "raise the authority of the courts (and) to secure unconditional independence of judges".

A possible criticism is that the ANC would need to make such rights real, for example, the freedom of expression, the freedom of the press and would need to assist people to publish against monopolies. The ANC is committed to this.

Economy

The ANC clearly envisages a mixed economy with the private sector under some control and with state support for collective ventures. There is a commitment to the development of skills which will be important in any later transformation. There is some protection for personal private property, but it could still nationalise monopolies as committed in the Freedom Charter. But we must bear in mind again the transitional nature. This will depend very much on the nature of the transition. We need to be clear that we are nowhere near a situation where we can talk realistically of democratic worker control of the whole of industry. There is a lack of skills. Everywhere that this has been attempted rapidly without alternative sources of skills, the result has been economic disaster. In this context one needs to take very seriously how Mozambique was forced to take several steps back.

In the national democratic struggle there will also be a great need for growth, for jobs, increased living standards, we need capital for this but we need to curb the power of capital.

We therefore have to talk of nationalisation in an environment where we cannot afford to scare away skilled workers, we need to curb the possibility of internal aggression and not scare foreign capital.

Another motivation for a mixed economy is from Eastern Europe experience where they are moving away from a total reliance on central planning.

Therefore a question of finding a correct balance will again depend on how power is transferred, for example, negotiation or seizure.

Land

This part is quite vague. It seems to recognise the importance of the redistribution of land when speaking of affirmative action and special provision for victims of forced removals.

Workers

The guidelines guarantee the right to organise trade unions and to strike. This is also significant as it has potential for the independent working class movement by providing some pressure and check on the state. We must remember that it is a transitional state, that it is a state in which there will be a struggle for socialism. There will be a need to continue to build our own independent power and new organs of people's power.

Women

While it recognises the importance of women, it is very vague and needs to be expanded.

CONCLUSION

I would like to conclude with Skweyiya:
"We will not get our freedom tomorrow, but our people need to start knowing what is involved. These are political issues and should not be allowed to be the exclusive preserve of the intellectuals, of governments and of party politicians."

We need to note that the ANC has called on us to discuss the constitutional guidelines, not simply to endorse them, but to participate in the call for the workers' charter, to give them more substance and to have a more democratic process.

NOTE: See Appendix 1 for a copy of the Constitutional Guidelines to which Willie Hofmeyer is referring.

HOWARD GABRIELS

Labour and Economic Alternatives

PREPARING TO GOVERN

In 1987 workers embraced the Freedom Charter under COSATU's banner when at the second national congress the Charter was adopted "as a guiding document which reflects the views and aspirations of the majority". Fundamental to the Freedom Charter is the demand that "the people shall govern".

It calls for every man and every woman to have the right to vote and to stand for election. It further calls for all bodies of minority rule to be replaced by democratic organs of self- government. The COSATU resolution in 1987 resolved to "develop a coherent working class understanding of the demands of the Freedom Charter and encourage discussion on socialism and democracy". The resolution also calls for disciplined alliances with democratic and progressive organisations.

Today, only two years later, we are debating the need to prepare ourselves to govern. How prepared we will be depends on the way in which we carry forward the struggle for national liberation.

For us as workers the primary focus of our struggle is two-fold:

- **the apartheid yoke of oppression that we need to destroy and *not* reform**
- **and the economic exploitation we suffer in the factories and the capitalist system.**

As workers we have built trade unions as our organisation in the factories which must protect us and advance our interest in the factories. However, this is not enough. We have seen the need to unite with all the struggling people in this country against the system of race tyrrany and through our unions we have taken action to both defend and advance our struggle for political rights.

LABOUR AND ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES

We have built our trade unions on a number of principles. These are

- worker control
- worker participation
- non-racialism
- non-sexism

What do we mean by worker control?

We mean that workers must take control of their own organisation. Workers must take the lead and workers must decide their own future. These may sound like empty slogans, but we are seeking to build a democratic practice in our trade unions that would withstand the onslaught of both capital and the state. We have unions based on shop stewards being elected by the workers on the shopfloor and who are accountable to the workers who elected them. Shop stewards have to repeatedly go back to their consituency for fresh mandates.

The workers in our country are making massive sacrifices to achieve this principle in each workplace. And to achieve it we had to fight for the right to organise, strike and bargain collectively. These are fundamental democratic rights which are denied to black workers and have been since the early days of capitalist development in SA just over a century ago.

As workers we wish to see that control of each establishment will fall under a democratically elected committee of workers. The working class needs also to take control of industry on a national scale.

And the Freedom Charter calls for the nationalisation of key components of the SA economy under a people's government. The attainment of democratic control by the working class over the economy is part and parcel of the political struggle. Cronin and Suttner's book says that whether the Charter will receive a socialist interpretation will depend on whether working class leadership is achieved and the extent to which the interests of other classes are transformed in the course of national liberation.

THE WORKERS' CHARTER

The constitutional guidelines call for a workers' charter to be drawn up. COSATU at its 1989 congress decided to intitiate debate on this charter, in all its structures. Some of the fundamental rights which are being debated include:

1) The right to organise
2) The right of trade unions to determine their own constitutions
3) The right to strike
4) The right to take part in the running and control of our factories and the economy
5) The right to work and earn a living wage
6) The right to health and safety
7) The rights of women workers

However these rights will be meaningless if we don't struggle for them in an active way. Therefore we need to encourage the struggles of workers to debate these issues and to take them up in a concrete way. We must salute the National Union of Mineworkers for calling on its members to debate a blueprint for the mining industry in a post-apartheid South Africa.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

There are crucial questions that need to be asked during this period. They are questions around the following:

1) Privatisation
2) The state/public sector
3) The setting up of co-operatives and the co-op movement
4) Building worker control in the private sector.

Thank you.

Participants view the exhibitions

CAP's satire "Tricameral Blues"

PROCESS
Section
2

Theme Workshops

Introduction

- How JMC's Have Impacted on the Work of Community Organisations in Bonteheuwel
- The Western Cape Economy
- Health from the 80s into the 90s
- Uprooting Poverty in the Western Cape
- Challenges in the Educational Sphere in the 1990s
- Welfare in Transition
- The Cultural Movement, Organisations and Challenges in the Western Cape – 80s into the 90s
- Demographic Changes in the Western Cape – 80s into the 90s
- The Relationship between the Political Economy and Ecology. Case Study: "Dumping of Nuclear Waste in South Africa"
- Squatter Struggles and State Strategy post 1986
- Housing Struggles in the 80s
- Aids: Everybody's Problem
- Worker Controlled Co-operatives: Dreams, Nightmares, Challenges
- Adult Education into the 1990s
- Literacy for Democracy
- The Mission of the Church in the 90s
- Can a Negotiated Settlement Solve the Ecological Problems Facing South Africa?
- Towards a People's Sport
- Computers for Transformation

Introduction

The Process part of this publication is composed of reports from the theme workshops. Twenty theme workshops were planned. One of the workshops which was planned and advertised in the conference programme, Overview of Worker Organisations in the Western Cape, unfortunately did not take place. This was due to a breakdown in communication between the organisers and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The 19 theme workshops were held in two sessions of parallel workshops. People were therefore able to choose two.

The workshops were planned and organised by facilitators. Many of them were involved in the conference working group which drew together people from various organisations and gave the conference its overall direction. Most of the facilitators drew in people from other organisations to contribute to the presentations at the workshop. In that way the participatory process of creating a body of knowledge from the pooling of experiences and understandings was strengthened. To further this process the organisers stressed that the workshops should be run in a way that got people actively involved.

Here are the workshop outlines and findings. The names of contactable people who facilitated or gave inputs at the workshops, and their organisations, are given. If you want to find out more, you can contact them via their organisations.

These outlines give the findings of those present, and attempt to give an idea of the methods used to encourage people to participate and highlight new research methods. Each workshop was asked to write down their findings in the form of five main trends they experienced in the 80s and five main issues or priorities they foresaw for the 90s. The workshops then reported back to two larger groups. The common trends and patterns were summarised by Trevor Manuel in his paper the following day. (See under Conference Speeches.)

Most of the workshop facilitators were later contacted in order to check and clarify the workshop reports for the purposes of this publication. The reports had been given verbally and on pieces of newsprint at two report-back sessions. Unfortunately we were not able to get hold of two of them before the printer's deadline.The three. Health from the 80s into the 90s, Uprooting Poverty in the Western Cape, and How JMCs have Impacted on the Work of Community Organisations in Bonteheuwel, are therefore printed as they are.

Written Papers

Some written papers were prepared for the workshops. Copies of these are available from CACE. The papers are:

Squatter Struggles and State Strategy: "State Urban Policies and Urban Struggles in the 1980s: A Western Cape Perspective" by Josette Cole.

Health in the 1990s: "People's Health" by Vinay Amaidas from the South African Health Workers Congress (SAHWCO)

"Health from the 80s into the 90s", a workshop paper.

The Mission of the Church: "Mission and Ministry for Radical Socio-Political Transformation", workshopped by the presenters.

Worker Controlled Co-operatives: "Co-operatives: Dreams, Nightmares, Challenges" by Wilfred Wentzel.

"Western Cape Population and Employment" prepared by Labour Research Services (LRS) and Southern Africa Labour Development and Research unit (SALDRU).

Towards a People's Sport: "Sport and Transformation: Towards a People's Sport" by Cheryl Roberts.

Some facilitators sent fairly detailed written reports incorporating their inputs and the workshop discussion to CACE after the conference. These are:

"Housing Issues in Greater Cape Town" by Basil Davidson.

"Demographic Changes in Greater Cape Town – 80s into the 90s" by Basil Davidson.

"The Western Cape Economy and Implications for the Future" by Nicoli Nattrass.

How JMCs Have Impacted on the Work of Community Organisations in Bonteheuwel

The facilitator was Barney Beck from the West Coast Council of Churches (WCCC). Presenters included Barney and Andrew Coetzee from the Bonteheuwel Advice Office. People participating were from civic organisations, WCCC and National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview:

Background on organisations and the Joint Management Centres was given. The group looked at the structure of the JMCs, the manner of their operation and community organisations' programme of action. They talked about JMCs versus organisations. They looked at organisations overcoming the JMC setback.

Five main issues in the 80s

- The function of the JMCs was to enable state groupings to infiltrate communities to ensure that subservience and the status quo were maintained. Through the various sub-divisions of the JMCs, for example, the media committees, they would bring out propaganda as smear campaigns to discredit organisations.
- Their impact on civic organisations, the WCCC and NUMSA was shown by case studies.
- The way the state uses reform together with repression was seen particularly in the JMCs.
- The state uses sophisticated machinery, the strategies prior to the JMCs were more blatant and indiscriminate.
- JMCs followed the traditional style of strategy used by the state, which was divide and rule – infiltrating organisations and breaking them down by creating divisions in the community.

Five priorities for the 90s

- The need for the strengthening of organisations in quality and quantity.
- The intensification of training in communities and people's organisations.
- The need to popularise organisations and work for unity.
- We must develop layers of leadership and ensure broad forums for collective decision-making.
- We must extend our influence in cultural and sports and other bodies.

The Western Cape Economy

The facilitator was Nicki Nattrass from the Centre for Development Studies (CDS). She also gave the presentation. Those present were academics and people from service and community organisations.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview:

The workshop looked at the nature and pace of economic growth and the implications of that for the future.

Input, slide presentation and discussion

1) Overview of the Western Cape

2) The debt and balance of payments crisis of the 80s

3) The state response to the crisis in the areas of privatisation and deregulation

4) Trade-offs and issues involved in "getting the mix of the mixed economy right".

Five main trends in the 80s

- Political developments exacerbated the debt crisis and disinvestment because investors don't send money into the country if they feel the political situation isn't stable.
- There was a rise in unemployment.
- There was a fall in investment.
- Increasing urbanisation gave rise to the need for increasing housing and employment.
- There was a waste of money by the government on defence, the tricameral parliament and the decentralised policy which removed resources from the Western Cape.

Five priorities for the 90s

- We need political settlement before economic recovery but economic recovery is also related to capitalism and the world economic system.
- Privatisation and deregulation (taking away rules around capitalist firms thereby making it easier for them to make profits) is directly facing us in the 1990s.
- There was discussion of the economy, of the macro-economy, and of the "right mix" of a mixed economy. Some preferred more of the economy to be in the hands of the state while others preferred a greater role for the market. Some people disagreed with the notion of a mixed economy.
- A call was made for a further forum to discuss the economy.

Health from the 80s into the 90s

The facilitators were Mxolise Tolbat of Health Care Trust and Elise Appel of Progressive Primary Health Care Network. Presenters were from the South African Health Workers Congress (SAHWCO), National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA), Health Care Trust, Health for All, Unemployed Workers Movement.
People present were progressive professional and non-professional health workers.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview:

Health is a reflection of a person's social, economic and political status. In South Africa these are largely determined by capitalism and apartheid. Apartheid is incompatible with health. Health cannot be attained until the results of political oppression and economic exploitation are eradicated.

Three key issues: fragmentation of state services, privatisation and alternatives to it, and people's health.

Discussion

Alternatives to privatisation, clarifying our understanding of privatisation, how it affects health, its advantages and disadvantages were discussed. Fragmentation is usually negative but it can also allow for progressive input and experimenting of systems. The group looked at the meaning of People's Health, how to promote it and at factors which do not promote it.

Five main trends of the 80s

- The fragmentation of health services is a method of controlling society.
- Privatisation is a reflection of the economic crisis. It reduces health to a commodity and is seen as unethical. It is an attempt by the state to shift responsibility to the people and seriously questions the point that it could be more efficient. Health workers could be further exploited in the search for profits.
- The emergence of people's health as a concept. There was a shift to placing health in the hands of the people, but some felt this was a romantic notion. Central to people's health was a democracy and empowerment.
- A positive development was the formation of many progressive organisations.

Five priorities for the 90s

- Increasing empowerment and democracy.
- Increasing redistribution of health resources and care.
- Health should be placed on the political agenda of SA.
- Work at health worker attitudes, to revise orthodox approaches where the health worker is considered "superior" to the patient.
- Increasing attention to health worker organisations.

Questions that arose

- Health maintenance organisations may need to be formed, for example as in the case of trade unions which need medical aid.
- A system of primary health care as a way forward.

Challenges in the Educational Sphere

The facilitator was Saleem Badat from the Western Cape Educational Front. He also gave the presentation.

About 30 people participated. They were from the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), the Western Cape Educational Front, South African Council for Higher Education (SACHED), Early Learning Resource Unit (ELRU), Academic Support Programme at UCT, The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM) and other service organisations.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview:

The current state of the educational movement in the Western Cape and the challenge of the 1990s.

Some details:

1) Mobilisation and organisation in education

Post 1976 and especially the 80s have provided us in the NECC with enriching experiences. These are withregard to mobilising and organising in education, campaigns and alliances as well as educational programmes, projects and resources.

The NECC was formed in 1986, it was banned and the Western Cape Educational Front was formed. Organisation building is a tremendous and painstaking task. We are confronted by a repressive regime which means that when we are poised to advance we have to fight to defend our gains. We have to cope with uneven development in different sites of the educational sphere. Political education and training, alongside other initiatives, is ignored at our own peril.

We can be proud of the educational movement we have now in the Western Cape. Today the NECC has a presence amongst teachers, academics, university and college students and resource agencies, but we have to consolidate it.

Mobilising and organising is insufficient in terms of governing in a post-apartheid era. We need to pose fundamental questions about what our educational principles and objectives are and whether we have the policies to run education. In all three areas we are vague, especially in that of policy.

2) Research

Ultimately,oppositional activities are insufficient. There is a need for systematic research and planning with regard to putting into place structures and policies for non-racial, non-sexist, democratic education

3) Projects, programmes, training

At this level, the NECC has established the Education and Development Trust to address needs in the areas of research, academic development programmes and training via scholarship provision.

Some QUESTIONS and DISCUSSION followed the input.

Uprooting Poverty in the Western Cape

The facilitators were Gasan Omar and Francis Wilson, both from the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU). Francis Wilson gave the presentation.

Shop stewards, academics, students and people from service organisations participated.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Input and discussion

The presentation focused on:
1) facts concerning poverty in the Western Cape
2) changes over the past twenty years
3) causes of poverty in the Western Cape
4) strategies for uprooting poverty in the Western Cape

Five main issues in the 80s

The effects of poverty were:

- Unemployment and psychological effects – lethargy, hopelessness, feelings of inadequacy.
- Violence – the Western Cape has the highest rate of violence in the world. This is directly related to unemployment and low wages.
- Political bias – job reservation on the basis of gender and race affects poverty.
- Macro-economic forces -the economy and population growth increases at 2.5% a year whereas job growth is 0%. Until 1976 job growth was about the same as population growth. This has serious consequences. We need to get the economy to grow but it won't until political consensus is reached both within and outside the country. Foreign investment won't happen until SA is more politically stable.
- Unequal distribution of wealth – the rural areas have been neglected for a long time.

Five priorities for the 90s

- Fundamental political power doesn't guarantee the end of poverty.
- Ecological devastation can be a direct consequence of poverty. For example: situations where women walk five miles a day to collect firewood and the ongoing eradication of trees which affects the soil.
- To move away from privatisation – people generally agreed that ESCOM, health care services and so on should not be privatised.
- Foreign funding for the work of community organisations. But there is a need for accountability and there are possible negative consequences like the stifling of initiative and the misappropriation of funds.
- Before we have a post-apartheid society we have to move from protest politics to pro-active politics. The 80s were seen as important for organisational work.

The facilitators were Gershwin Kohler and Charles Phillips of the Social Workers Forum (SWF). Marie McDonald and Marcello Naidoo of the Social Work Department at UWC presented inputs.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview

They outlined the history of welfare in South Africa and looked at how it was bound up with colonialism. They discussed how current welfare policy was based on differentiation and fragmentation with 18 different welfare departments operating. They noted that state bodies only extended welfare when the individual, family and community's resources were exhausted. Some details:

Welfare had been spearheaded by the private sector and the church in South Africa. The presenters also discussed privatisation in which state involvement became further minimized.

Discussion

The groupdiscussed alternative welfare organisation/policy. Welfare needed to be redefined to include a broad spectrum of needs, for example housing and health. The redefinition should encompass the welfare of the nation.

Proposals

They proposed the Developmentalist approach on welfare for the consitutional guidelines. This involved addressing the basic needs of the nation. The needs would be prioritised. These needs included empowering people to attain their basic needs, involving them in decisions and skills training.

Priorities for the 90s

- A welfare charter must be formulated.
- Welfare and community organisations need to be mobilised with the aim of building a united welfare front.

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The Cultural Movement, Organisations, and Challenges in the Western Cape – 80s into the 90s.

The facilitator was Omar Badsha from the Documentary Photography Project (DPP) and the Cultural Workers Congress (CWC). The presenters were Omar Badsha, Donald Parenzee from the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW), Nicholas Vergunst, Mike van Graan from the Community Arts Project (CAP).
Those participating were cultural workers, members of women's groups, students, and people from sports groups.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Inputs and discussion

1) Growth of Cultural Workers Congress (CWC) and cultural organisation in the 80s
2) Development and challenges facing cultural arts projects
3) Publications and censorship
4) Museums, libraries and state institutions

Five main trends of the 80s

- The 80s were marked by active participation in cultural activities by the youth, workers and grassroots organisations.
- The development of cultural organisations like COSAW and CWC and the growth of community arts projects and service organisations.
- There was debate on how to organise cultural workers and what form the organisation should take, and how they should be linked to mass-based structures.
- The emergence of cultural organisations among workers with a specific cultural development.
- A culture of resistance emerged.
- The problem of the 80s was that the concept of people's culture was not taken far enough because of lack of resources.

Priorities for the 90s

- The concept of culture as merely an appendage of the political struggle needs to be critically exmined.
- Cultural organisations need to develop an independent identity, while forming links with political and community organisations.
- Community arts projects need to work closely with cultural and service organisations to develop structures to serve cultural workers.
- A new aesthetic needs to emerge based on a working class perspective.
- The questions of how to get state institutions to serve the needs of all the people needs to be addressed.
- There is a great need to pass on skills to grassroots and worker organisations.
- The CWC needs to convene a workshop soon to take up some of these issues.

Demographic Changes in Greater Cape Town – 80s into the 90s.

The facilitator was Basil Davidson from the Democratic Action Group (DAG). He gave the workshop presentation together with Amanda Younge, also from DAG.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview

An illustrated summary of current and future population trends in greater Cape Town was given. Cape Town is at a critical stage of its development. The rate and scale of urbanisation is happening faster than ever before.

The input covered the physical limits to the city's growth (like fresh air, water and food), the needs and characteristics of the changing population, and the projected population growth. Included in the input was the projected employment/unemployment trends, income inequality and poverty.

Some details

By the year 2000, Cape Town will need double the number of houses that exist now. Currently 40-50% of people's incomes is spent on food. Food prices are rising by at least 33% a year. The population will be much larger and poorer, there will be more young and unemployed people and crime will increase. The population is expected to increase by about three-quarters from 1985 to 2000.

Small group discussions

Identifying implications of demographic changes for community organisations.

Trends and priorities for the 90s

- Squatters will probably be a majority of the city's population. How do they and their issues need to be integrated into our organisational structures? How do we deepen non-racialism?
- There is a need to re-orient people's expectations of what the post-apartheid state can provide in terms of housing and services.
- Children - a large part of the population will be very young. Education must be a combination of mental and manual.
- There will be an increasing number of unemployed people who are dispersed throughout the various communities and who don't have a specific site of organising.
- There will be the effects of disease, for example TB, hepatitis and AIDS. Population projections may be changed by those diseases. We need to develop a politics of aids in our organisations.

The Relationship between the Political Economy and Ecology. Case Study: The Dumping of Nuclear Waste in South Africa.

The presenters were Mike Cope from the Cape Town Ecology Group and David Fig from International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG).

People present included Port Nolloth squatters, Naturalist Society (NATSOC) members, Cape Town Ecology Group members, teachers and students.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview:

The presenters spelled out connections between politics and ecological issues in South Africa. A theoretical framework based on the book "Our Common Future" was outlined to look at ecological issues facing South Africa. This was followed by a discussion on appropriate strategies to address the problems. Concrete links between ecological issues and community issues were made. This was done by using Namaqualand and the dumping of nuclear waste as a basis.

Five main issues in the 80s

There was a serious lack of attention on environmental issues of the 80s. These were:

- increasing toxic
- increasing nuclear waste
- the widening of the hole in the ozone layer.

Five priorities for the 90s

- Great need for education on the environment and ecology.
- Alternative media and influential commercial media need to be used to spread awareness.
- We must set up links between organisations active on these issues.
- We need to formulate a national energy policy.
- We need to build a regional, environmental policy, noting that environmental issues are people's issues: land, air, water are serious questions. Our region is part of an eco-system that is incredibly fragile.
- We need to formulate modes of production that sustain our natural resources.

Squatter Struggles and State Strategy post-1986

Facilitated by David Abrahams of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Josette Cole from the Surplus People's Project (SPP).

Squatters from communities in Port Nolloth, Koekenaap, Malmesbury and Noordhoek contributed to the presentation.

People from Brown's Farm squatter camp also participated.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview

The workshop looked at methods of state strategy, particularly how the abolition of influx control via the pass laws gave rise to a new form of influx control via the new squatting and trespassing act. The group examined valuable lessons to be learned by progressive organisations. We also looked at contemporary struggles for land in the Western Cape.

Slide presentation and discussion

This was on the history of squatter struggles since 1986.

Five main trends in the 80s

- Unity was a problem, the squatter communities tended to be isolated from one another.
- Because they weren't organised, the state used individual leaders, who weren't accountable to their constituencies.
- The state has successfully been winning the hearts and minds of whole squatter communities – they are very vulnerable and they lack support from progressive organisations.
- Part of the strategy of the state was to use upgrading as a way of co-opting squatter communities. There were different responses – some of them accepted it, others rejected it and this raised questions about ways to respond to such state strategies.

Five priorities for the 90s

- There is a lack of progressive organisation within squatter communities – we need to win squatters over to organisations. Many mistakes have been made by progressive organisations, sometimes pushing squatter communities into the arms of the government. Progressive organisations have tried to impose certain practices and they have sometimes declared squatters reactionary if they haven't gone along with them.
- Different squatter communities have different problems and the strategies we use need to take those local conditions into account.
- Negotiations need to take place at local state level. For example, negotiations with local government over land will become a major issue in the 90s.
- Support for land and housing struggles in rural areas needs to be strengthened and given more support by mass organisations.
- Legislation like the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of February 89 gives local government the legal authority to enforce removals. This Act will be used more and more in the 90s by government to prevent people from settling in the urban areas. Squatter struggles need to become central to progressive organisations.

Housing Struggles in the 80s

The facilitators were Paul Joemat from Cape Areas Action Housing Committe (CAHAC) and Basil Davidson from the Development Action Group (DAG). Presenters included people from Bellville Civic Association, Disa River Project and CAHAC.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Input

Inputs were given by people from community organisations on mobilisation around housing issues

Overview

1) *Reflection of the 80s:*
State housing strategies.The group looked at the development of the state housing policy which changed in 1983. The current state policies and strategies and their consequences, including privatisation were examined. One of the consequences has been a dramatic slowdown of the provision of housing and a greater reliance on the private sector. The workshop looked at township upgrading, Regional Services Council (RSC), the selling of houses, squatting in backyards.

2) *Responses to the situation:*
a) spontaneous – squatting
b) organised – housing campaigns.

3)*Projection into the 1990s.*
There was an analysis of housing and related aspects in the current phase. This was followed by laying the basis of a future vision rooted in democratic process. The group also looked at short term and long term objectives and a programme of action.

Five main trends in the 80s

- Campaigns were around the major housing shortages, high rents and rates.
- There were campaigns around electricity – high bills, the problem of installation.
- There were also campaigns around the maintenance of housing.
- There was an increase of squatters.
- The issue of privatisation and the city council handing the problem over to the people was an issue.

Five priorities for the 90s

- To make a demand for 1 million houses, overcrowding is very high.
- We need to redefine the housing issue as a national political issue and redefine the role of the civics – there must be an interlinking with the trade unions.
- Maintenance and electricity issues must be addressed.
- We need a total environment.
- We must make sure of the establishment of women's rights in the sphere of housing.
- We must counteract privatisation.
- Local government remains a question – what local authority do we want?
- Land – the 99 year lease-hold applied in African areas must be changed.
- A living wage equals better housing.

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Aids: Everybody's Problem

The facilitator was Dr Ivan Toms from SACLA Health Project. Presenters included people from Philani Nutrition Centre, Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA), PPHC Network and Health Care Trust.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Input

An introduction to aids was given to create awareness of why it is an issue for all community organisations.

Demonstrations

Demonstrations of an effective aids educational programme, through active participation of the workshop delegates, were given.

Discussion and video

As aids was a recent and rapidly growing phenomenon, the group discussion focused on the 1990s.

Priorities and challenges for the 90s

- Condom education – we need to find the right way to educate people about condoms.
- We need to fight the fear of hearing about aids.
- We need to get information to organisations because it is an issue they must take up.
- We need to politicise the issues. Government information is often bad, we need to pressurize the government.
- We need to break down the taboos on talking about sex.
- We need to be aware that we are going to lose a lot of activists.
- World figures: there are 600 000 aids cases now, it is expected that there will be 6 million aids cases in 10 years. This has economic implications in terms of health care and support.
- We need to change the legislation. As it stands now, a person with aids can be thrown out of their job.
- We need to look at our own attitudes towards aids and death. For many of us it is difficult to talk about them.

Worker Controlled Co-operatives

The facilitator was Gasan Omar. The presenters were Wilfred Wentzel and Vernon Rose from the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) at UCT and Mrs Milly Hass from the Atlantis Buyers Co-op.
Participants were members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), the UWC tuckshop co-op, the Atlantis Buyers Co-op, as well as academics and progressive medical workers.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Input and discussion

An introduction was given with examples of effective co-ops.

Questions were posed, for example: what conditions are required for a co-operative to work? Another was: list the major areas of a co-operative that members would have to master for it to be democratic and viable.

Statistics on unemployment were given. For example, the 1988 unemployment figure for "africans" and "coloureds" under 30 years was between 60-65%. The need for the training of co-op members was discussed, as well as the need to devise accessible material appropriate to their level of education and business understanding.

Further questions were asked. For example, how can co-ops become economically viable in a capitalist country?

Challenges were posed to the group. For example, co-ops are highly marginalised, how could they play a progressive role? What kind of skills are required, what kind of training is available? It was emphasised that practical training in all facets of economic organisation and technical skill is essential.

Five main trends of the 80s

- Unemployment.
- What is a co-op? No history of progressive co-ops has been written.
- Skills are needed for co-ops.
- Questions were asked around the theory and practice of democracy, and what it means in co-ops.
- The role of service organisations – many adopted quite a paternalistic role. Co-ops were given money without accountability.

Five priorities for the 90s

- As in the 80s.
- We need a more refined understanding of economic viability – we need to move from a paternalistic approach.
- We need to relook at the concepts of democratic management, technical training and the need for specialisation.
- Co-operation between co-ops.
- We need an understanding of the impact of different cultural and organisational forms. We need to look towards a synthesis and how to do that.

Adult Education into the 1990s

The facilitators were Carl Hendricks of the Community Education Programme (CEP) and Phuti Tsukudu from Careers Research and Information Centre (CRIC). The presenters were six Adult Education Diploma Course students from CACE.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview

They looked at the development in adult education in the 80s in the Western Cape and projected the needs of adult education into the 90s.

Questions posed

- How can adult education contribute to the process of social change?
- How can adult education build community organisations in the 1990s?
- What are the main issues which adult educators should respond to in the Western Cape?
- How do we see the co-ordination and implementation of adult education in the 1990s?

Discussion

Group discussion led into the five main issues for each decade.

Five main trends of the 80s

- The following question was discussed: Are there different sites in which adult education is engaged?
- Other questions were: What is the ruling class doing in the field of adult education? Why are we involved in adult education?
- The media (TV, radio, press) plays a crucial role in adult education.
- Literacy programmes need to be more relevant and practical.
- Adult education is weak in the area of conscientisation.

Five challenges for the 1990s

- We need to look at a more national, more co-ordinated approach to adult education in the 1990s.
- The emphasis has been placed on educating the youth for social change – adults need to be more actively drawn into this process.
- Community organisations need to give greater priority to educational programmes.
- There should be a special emphasis on the needs of women in adult education.
- We need research to determine sites where adult education is taking place. There are so many different initiatives, for example, in the area of literacy, but there is no co-ordinating structure yet. We need to develop a national strategy – perhaps the Mass Democratic Movement could co-ordinate a literacy programme.

Literacy for Democracy

Facilitators were Marion Clifford and Sister Claire Harkin from Use and Speak Written English (USWE). Both were also representing the Western Cape Literacy Co-operation Forum.
There were 10 women participating from Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO), Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), Molo Songolo, Careers Research and Information Centre (CRIC), Black Sash, CACE and National Language Project (NLP).

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview

We explored the need for literacy in the work of community and labour organisations, in strengthening these organisations and the communities they serve and in building democracy. We also drew from this ideas about the possible future direction of a progressive campaign of the 90s.

Some details

Illiteracy statistics were given. Some of the statistics show that in some parts of the Western Cape as many as 80% of the population is illiterate. Almost 9 million South African adults have less than six years of schooling or none at all. Less than 1% of illiterates are reached by existing literacy programmes.

The main providers of literacy in South Africa were talked about.

Role play

Two role plays explored how literacy is an integral part of the grassroots work. They also showed how this work is hampered by lack of basic skills in the community.

Reflection

This led to drawing up a list of challenges. The workshop looked only at the 1990s. People in the group had little background in literacy. In the 1980s there was very little awareness of literacy.

Five challenges for the 90s

- To define more clearly what we mean by literacy, by stimulating debate around the notions of literacy and popular education. We also need to look at notions of critical thinking, empowerment and conscientisation.
- The importance of looking at the literacy needs of children as well as adults, rural as well as urban people. Progressive groups are touching only about 5 000 illiterates out of 6 million.
- To promote greater awareness of illiteracy. This is especially so for organisations where we're promoting a more democratic way of working.
- We need to develop a national strategy and policy for literacy in the future post-apartheid society. This includes a national literacy campaign.
- Literacy is a branch of non-formal education – what kind of future policy do we want for a population which is illiterate or semi-literate.

The Mission of the Church in the 1990s

The facilitator was Joe Samuels from CACE. The presenter was Syd Luckett from the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility. People from the Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC), Justice and Peace Commission, Theological Exchange Programme (TEP) and The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM) participated.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview

An analysis of the church was given with particular reference to activists in para-church and mainline church organisations, from the mid-70s to 1989.

Some details

The Kairos document of 1985 was a turning point which enabled the church to be seen as a site of struggle. February 1988 marked a new, more intensified phase in the church's struggle for peace and justice. Church leaders united in a commitment to develop effective, non-violent strategies to bring about an end to apartheid. The launch of the Standing For the Truth Campaign in May 1988 ushered in an era of concrete actions challenging the government's restrictions. The SFT Campaign participated in the Defiance Campaign of the Mass Democratic Movement and came to be seen as the Christian sector of the MDM.

Group discussion

Developing a vision for the role of the church in the 1990s.

Five main trends in the 80s

- The church moved from being rejected to becoming a site of struggle.
- The church was largely regarded as irrelevant and was used only for resources.
- Activists left the church to join community structures.
- The emergence of the Standing For the Truth Campaign.
- Contradictions in the church itself,between maintaining the hegemony and challenging it, have been largely ignored.

Five priorities for the 90s

- How to maintain momentum with solid grassroots organisation and leadership training.
- How to democratise the Standing For the Truth Campaign.
- The development of popular theology to counter conservative theology.
- Increase prophetic theology in the church through education so it becomes integrated into the church.
- The question of accountability needs to be looked at. How can the SFT Campaign become accountable to the church and how can the church become accountable to the MDM?

Can a Negotiated Settlement Solve the Ecological Problems Facing South Africa?

The facilitators were Martin Hendricks and Denver Hendricks from the Naturalist Society (NATSOC). The presenters were from NATSOC and Development Action Group (DAG).

Participants included Cape Town Ecology Club and UDF members.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview

South Africa is confronted by a multitude of ecological problems which threaten our survival if we continue along our present path. An overview of some of these problems was considered with reference to greater Cape Town. A brief review of historical events leading to the current situation was discussed. An outline of options was followed by some key questions highlighting the inter-relationship between politics and the environment.

Some details

A review of the historical process of how people became landless via, for example, the Land Act of 1913, the Poll Tax and the Hut Tax, was given.

Problems were looked at. For example, soil erosion in the homelands, where the number of people per unit of arable land is three times more than that elsewhere.

Discussion

Questions arose around the status of ecological issues with regard to the importance of social, political and economic problems. There was also discussion on how ecological problems would be approached in a post-apartheid state. Possibilities of nuclear power reducing the sulphate emissions from current power stations were looked at.

Main trends of the 80s

- Ecology was perversely removed from the agenda of the people because they were "concerned with day to day living".

Five priorities for the 90s

- We need to agree that ecological issues are crucial for our survival.
- We must understand that negotiations will not solve ecological issues unless these issues go back onto the agenda of our people.
- The challenge is to give ecology a mass democratic character, to challenge the actions and issues that are destroying our environment.
- Ecology equals top soil, air pollution, fresh water, clean rivers and seas, land and all the natural living systems. It is very broad. It involves people's access to land, water, fresh air, decent work, housing and so on.

Towards a People's Sport

The facilitator was Cheryl Roberts, who also gave the presentation together with Judy Abrahams. Cheryl is a member of the National Sports Congress but was there in her individual capacity.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Input

An overview on problems in the 80s was given and challenges of the 90s were looked at. The presenters examined the transforming of the sports network, smashing bureaucracy and implementing accountability. The volatile relationship between the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) and the National Sports Congress (NSC) was also looked at.

Five main trends in the 80s

- There was no real mass-based sports organisation.
- There was bureaucratic leadership and management with no player participation in the democratic movement.
- Progressive organisations neglected sport, but racist sport was isolated.
- Lack of facilities and resources.
- The boycott action was not questioned effectively and the control of resources was not addressed.

Five main issues for the 90s

- Make sport a mass-based organisational organ, workers'sports, create closer links with unions, including a wider range of sports.
- Alignment – sports organisation needs to be politically aligned.
- Need to create democratic participation and accountability in sports organisations.
- Need to take control of facilities and resources – "how" still needs discussion.
- Progressive organisations need to play a more active role, for example, mobilising around the rebel cricket tour.
- Isolation of SA sport must continue and intensify.

Computers for Transformation

The facilitator was Ashiek Manie from the Cape Educational Computer Society (CECS). Presenters were Ashiek, Doug Reeler and Betsy Saaiman, also from CECS. Those present included people from Rape Crisis, National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA), CACE, community organisations and teachers.

WORKSHOP REPORT:

Overview:

The computer was examined as a tool of either liberation or control within a theoretical or political context. The group looked at how computers have been used by community-based organisations and outlined plans for the 90s. They focused on contradictions and problems. They also looked at teaching resources and developing alternative materials using computers.

Discussion

We went around and assessed people's needs and levels. Some were advanced, some were unexposed. Those who had used computers talked about what they had been doing, and questions arose out of that.

Questions on the needs of current community-based organisations and a post-apartheid South Africa were raised and discussed. Other needs discussed were those relating to human resources. Education, literacy, technical skills and networking with other community-based organisations were examined.

Input

An input was given on CECS and community and educational work.

Some details

Technology feeds into all our community structures and it needs a higher place on the political agenda. The current problem is a dependency on a small group of people with the computer expertise – we need to democratise and spread the skills.

Technology is not neutral. It is presently rooted in a particular framework. With the transformation of society, structures need to develop new ways of using the technology that was developed for use by capitalists with class interests. A number of organisations are starting to use computers. But there is a skills imbalance.

How do we shift the balance of power in particular areas? These are

1) education – we can create cheap, good quality media on the computer,
2) data bases – we can use these for the storage and retrieval of information for research,
3) networks – telecommunications can be made more accessible and interactive. For example you can access or input into a database in London at the cost of a local telephone call. There is a lot of power in a computer, it can be used to democratise organisations or it can be used as an elitist tool.

Demonstration

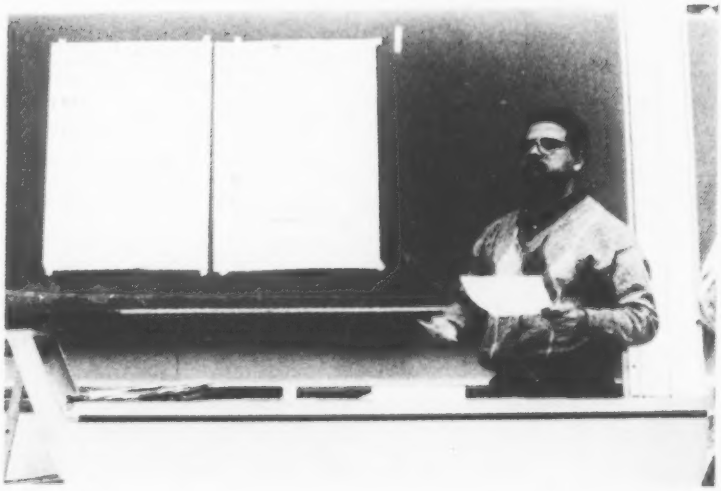
A practical demonstration and discussion of computer-aided materials production followed.

Priorities for the 90s

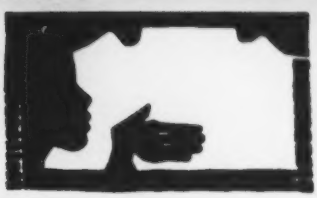
- We must explore computers for the potential for literacy.
- We need to develop technical skills.
- The administration of community organisations can be made more efficient through computers.

Wilfred Wentzel talking at the theme workshop on co-operatives

Ivan Toms (right) at the workshop on Aids



Carl Hendricks at the workshop on adult education



METHOD
Section
3

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION: getting people actively involved

Reflections from the CACE organising committee:

Zelda Groener:
"Trying to put a participatory conference together was quite difficult. It was very challenging."

David Abrahams:
"On one hand we found that people have very set ideas on what a 'conference' is like. They sometimes resist new ideas."

Why did you want to have a participatory conference?

Joe Samuels:
"It was an opportunity where we could experiment with making these kinds of events places where we could hear more voices than we usually do. So people could say what they think and feel, what they do understand and what they don't understand."

Zelda Groener:
"When people share their experiences they learn from one another. Through using a participatory approach, one engages people in the learning process and then the learning experience becomes far more real. We wanted people to draw on their own experiences of the 1980s. We wanted people to be actively involved, so it could be a collective learning event, that would be part of the democratic education process."

David Abrahams:
"Because conferences are normally dominated by a few articulate individuals."

Liz Mackenzie:
"We wanted to create a forum where people could actively envisage the 1990s as a future that they would want to start taking hold of."

Introduction

The organisers felt that the conference should be a collective learning event. And this should include the active involvement of people in the process.

We wanted it to be a people's education event to which participants would bring their own experience. In this way we hoped to challenge rather than reproduce authoritarian ideologies. The aim was to draw on people's understandings of the 80s and provide a space for them to envisage options for the future they would want. To do this we set about creating a forum in which they could get actively involved.

Active participation as an approach

As an approach to learning, active participation encourages people to develop their own ideas, reflecting their own social and political interests. This process helps people to think further and to act more effectively according to their own interests. The processes of active learning allow many more voices to be heard and are also more democratic than are the largely passive conferences many of us have experienced. The aims are the deepening of social consciousness and also the strengthening of organisation. We hoped to make those aims come alive in the conference.

The conference as an event encouraging active participation

The initial concept of the conference was for it to be a collective learning experience for people in organisations in the Western Cape.

It was inspired by the idea that many organisations hold yearly evaluations of their work. It was felt that these evaluations could be expanded and made more collective.

We wanted to enable ourselves and other organisations in the anti-apartheid, democratic movement to update and deepen our analysis of the Western Cape as a context for our work.

During the previous two years organisations had been expressing the need to explore the social, political and economic context more carefully.

The ending of the 80's provided an opportune moment to look back over a whole decade, enabling us to project forward into the challenges of the 90s.

We also wanted to step into the space created by the politically fluid situation which emerged during the process of organising the conference. From August of 1989 the Defiance Campaign of the MDM and other factors outlined in the Introduction to this publication had created a space in which organisations could move with a stronger sense of their own power.

This sense of power emerged as a major theme of Preparing to Govern at the conference, feeding into the psychological move that organisations were making from resistance to pro-active politics.

- **How it happened**

CACE approached the CDS, which agreed to co-host the event. A conference working group was set up with about 20 representatives from 15 organisations. The organisations involved in this way were from various sectors including health, civics, church, education, culture, economy, labour and research, social work, housing. This group met regularly and guided the planning process.

- **Newsletters**

In the newsletters that were sent out before the conference, about 350 organisations were invited to gather to "collectively evaluate the context of their work". The evaluation would be done "by reviewing the 1980s and looking at future options for the 1990s."

- **Exhibitions and local culture**

We also wanted to create the space for different kinds of experiences of the Western Cape as a context. So about 30 organisations set up exhibitions of their work. Photographic exhibitions of conditions in the Western Cape were also displayed.

We felt another important dimension to base the proceedings on was local, popular culture. Vibrant cultural activities were woven into the programme. Worker poetry from members of the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) was read to the sound of drums and guitar. There were two dramatic sketches from the Community Arts Project (CAP), "Turning the Tables", a mime about power and a satire of the tricameral parliament called "Tricameral Blues".

Participants view the photographic exhibitions

- **Structure**

Then, the structure of the conference included theme presentations so people could gather in smaller groups and participate more fully in the process. One newsletter stressed that "the emphasis is on interaction amongst participants, so presentations will take the forms of workshops, discussions, role plays, slide/tape shows and papers".

- **A range of voices**

In this way we wanted to broaden the range of voices heard and listen carefully to what emerged.

While there were experts giving inputs on the themes, it was not a conference of experts for experts. Nor was it a conference of experts delivering papers to a largely passive audience. We wanted it to be grounded in people's own experience of the 80s and we wanted to hear people's own theories about the 90s.

It was organisationally-based and aimed primarily at the "opinion-makers within organisations", as stated in our initial pamphlet. It was intended to be a forum where people could "share resources and information with one another".

Although invitations to get involved were sent out to a wide range of organisations, a disturbing trend that emerged was the faintness of the womens' voices. This was stressed at the evaluation of the conference. The workers' voices, also, did not have as strong a presence as was intended. One reason was that the planned workshop on worker organisations in the Western Cape did not take place as stated in this publication's Introduction. These gaps may have been avoided by specifically encouraging more direct participation from those sectors.

- **Workshops**

In the Process part of the publication, the workshop reports reflect how people shared their histories and visions for the future.

About 80 participants were involved in presenting the workshops, jointly creating "new" knowledge. The presenters elicited varying degrees of active participation from those present at their workshops.

For example in Squatters' Struggles people's own experiences were directly drawn on and in the report-back of the Aids workshop, condoms were passed around and humour was used to get over people's awkwardness.

Links with Popular Education

Some of the methods to achieve active participation are similar to aspects of popular education. Popular education has its origins in Latin and Central America. It emphasises active, collective, creative approaches to learning. It is based on people's daily lives, relies on active participation and challenges power relations, leading to action for social change.

An educator or facilitator using this approach, works with a group of people drawing on their concrete experiences of the social, political and economic context. These specific instances are expressed verbally or through role play, group drawings and other activities which capture the essence of the experience. From these experiences of, for example, oppression, common threads can be highlighted and analysed collectively by the group. Additional understandings from background reading and the facilitator's experience are used in the process.

Resistance to certain methods of active participation

Although it was encouraged as an approach to the conference, the organisers experienced some resistance to notions of active participation.

The resistance was encountered on many levels and the reasons are numerous and complex. Based on our experience, we suggest that organisers of events such as this will need to aim to overcome a number of possible barriers.

One of these barriers may be their own lack of confidence and experience.

Faced with the task of creating a participatory conference for an expected audience of about 400 people, we were unsure of what to expect. Because some of the ideas around getting people actively involved were fairly new we were also not sure of how successful our attempts to implement them would be.

The inexperience of some presenters to run workshops or particular learning events in interactive ways may be another barrier. Most experts are used to one way of delivering their messages.

Or presenters may be uncomfortable about getting people involved in their presentation, feeling that they have the responsibility to give a clear, comprehensive presentation, while allowing time for discussion afterwards. There are questions about what activities are permissible, or what is appropriate, when, and for whom.

In some instances presenters may experience resistance when they are used to simply telling others what they think.

Or they may feel that a lot of active participation is not the way a conference is supposed to be and therefore will not be taken seriously.

For people attending workshops, active participation may be threatening. They may not want to take part of the responsibility for the workshop. Or they may feel embarrassed and may feel afraid of making "fools" of themselves.

It may simply be that in some situations active participation is simply not considered appropriate.

Questions we can ask and lessons we can learn from this experience

All of this raises questions about the nature of conferences and how participatory they can be. With our focus on adult education, it also raises questions for us about how to extend the active learning process into the heart of educating.

Lessons can be taken from the Latin and Central American experience of popular education. Ideas and methods from there can be adapted and incorporated into the democratic education that exists here.

If we, as conference organisers, had been more confident and had spent more time talking with the facilitators and presenters about particular ideas and methods they could have used, a richer base could have been provided for people to get even more actively involved.

However, at this conference, 250 people from 90 organisations in the Western Cape were able to come together to pool their understandings of their context and work.

We hope the content, processes and methods of the conference as given in this publication prove useful in the move toward a more just and democratic society in South Africa.

APPENDIX
The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines

The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People at Kliptown near Johannesburg, was the first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Freedom Charter remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles as accepted throughout the world.

Among South Africans it has become by far the most widely accepted programme for a post-apartheid country.

The stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision for the future into a constitutional reality.

We in the African National Congress submit to the people of South Africa, and to all those throughout the world who wish to see an end to apartheid, our basic guidelines for the foundation of government in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Extensive and democratic debate on these guidelines will mobilise the widest sections of the population to achieve agreement on how to put an end to the tyranny and oppression under which our people live, thus enabling them to lead normal and decent lives as free citizens in a free country.

The immediate aim is to create a just and democratic country that will sweep away the centuries-old legacy of colonial conquest and white domination, and abolish all laws imposing racial oppression and discrimination.

The removal of discriminatory laws and the eradication of all vestiges of the illegitimate regime are, however, not enough; the structures and institutions of apartheid must be dismantled and replaced by democratic ones.

Steps must be taken to ensure that apartheid ideas and practices are not permitted to appear in old forms or new. In addition, the effects of centuries of racial domination and inequality must be overcome by constitutional provisions for corrective action which guarantees a rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth and opening up of all facilities to all.

The Constitution must also be such as to promote the habits of non-racial and non-sexist thinking, the practice of non-racist behavious and the acquisition of genuinely shared patriotic consciousness.

The Constitution must give firm protection to the fundamental human rights of all citizens. There shall be equal rights for all individuals irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

In addition, it requires the entrenching of equal cultural, linguistic and religious rights for all.

Under conditions of contemporary South Africa, 87% of land and 95% of the instruments of production are in the hands of the ruling class, which is drawn solely from the white community.

It follows, therefore, constitutional protection for group rights would perpetuate the status quo and would mean that the mass of people would continue to be constitutionally trapped in poverty and remain as outsiders in the land of their birth.

Finally, the success of the constitution will be to a large extent determined by the degree to which it promotes conditions for the active involvement of all sectors of the population, at all levels in government and in the economic and social life.

Bearing these fundamental objectives in mind, we declare that the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a truly just and democratic South Africa requires a constitution based on the following principles.

The State

a) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.

b) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.

c) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole, in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.

d) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

Franchise

e) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall

have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person, one vote.

f) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and be elected to all legislative bodies.

National identity

g) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

Bill of Rights and affirmative action

h) The Constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement.

i) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.

j) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate speedily the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.

k) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, Nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness shall be outlawed.

l) Subject to clauses (i) and (k) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press. Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and guarantee the right to education and social security.

m) All parties which conform to the provisions (i) and (k) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

Economy

n) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population.

o) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define the limit to the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity.

p) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.

q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and small-scale family sector.

r) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small-scale family activities shall be supported by the state.

s) The state shall promote the acquisition of management, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.

t) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

Land

u) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues: abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land; implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals.

Workers

v) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining shall be incorporaed into the constitution.

Women

w) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes.

The family

x) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

International

South Africa shall be a non-aligned state, committed to the principles of the Charter of the OAU, and the Charter of the UN and to the achievement of national liberation, world peace, and disarmament.

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

This publication reflects a conference at which 250 representatives from 90 organisations in the Western Cape came to share their views on the challenges of the 1990s.

"This conference is an extremely important intiative in the country," said Trevor Manuel, prominent Cape activist and one of the speakers.

This book was edited and produced at the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) at the University of the Western Cape. CACE co-hosted the conference with the Centre for Development Studies (CDS).

OTHER CACE PUBLICATIONS

- The Struggle For Democracy from 1960
- The Struggle For Democracy in the 1980s
- The Building of Community Organisations: The Role of Education.
- People's Education: A Compilation of Articles.
- People's Education: An Examination of the Concept.
- What is People's Education? An Approach to Running Workshops.
- Popular Education in an International Perspective: A Preliminary Bibliography.
- Education for Democratic Participation.
- Literacy, State Formation and People's Power.
- Light on Learning. Methods to overcome barriers to learning.

If you want to find out more about any CACE publications, telephone 021-959 2798 or write to:
The Secretary, CACE, University of the Western Cape, P Bag X17, Bellville, 7535, South Africa.